

A 'peace-keeping' force won't aid Haitian people

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Calls for military intervention in Haiti have been raised since the November 29 presidential elections in that country were canceled by Gen. Henri Namphy, head of Haiti's U.S.-backed military government, in the wake of violence by armed thugs aimed at stopping the elections.

On November 30 Walter Fauntroy, congressional delegate from Washington, D.C., called for an international "peace-keeping" force to be sent to Haiti, reversing his earlier position opposing such action. "The only hope for the people [of Haiti] is international intervention," he said. Fauntroy has been a leading congressional spokesperson on Haiti.

The December 1 *New York Times*, in an editorial titled "Who Can Protect the Haitians?", urged the U.S. government to "consider more direct action by Latin American democracies, perhaps even an inter-American force to help keep the peace and oversee the election."

The same day Associate Editor A.M. Rosenthal's column in the *Times* was titled "For U.S. Intervention in Haiti." He urged a UN or Organization of American States peace-keeping force for Haiti. If efforts to put together military intervention under broader auspices fail, however, Washington should send in its own troops, in his view. Such intervention would be an "act of self-interest and of honor," he stated, and would have the support of the U.S. people.

A *Miami Herald* editorial on December 2 titled "Time to Invade Haiti" expressed similar views.

The current military regime in Haiti has enjoyed the blessing of the U.S. govern-



Haitian soldiers disrupt July protest in Port-au-Prince

Militant/Harvey McArthur

ment since it assumed power following the massive popular upsurge that drove dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier from Haiti in February 1986. Duvalier and his late father, "Papa Doc," had enjoyed U.S.-government support throughout their 30-year reign of terror over the Haitian people.

Outrage over the election violence, however, forced Washington to announce it was cancelling military and economic aid to Haiti. The French government an-

nounced that it would continue financing the Haitian regime.

Assaults by pro-Duvalier forces

A wave of violent assaults, arson, and murder aimed at blocking the elections grew in the weeks leading up to November 29, carried out by armed thugs, known as Tontons Macoutes, who supported ousted dictator Duvalier. The ruling military

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Cuba-U.S. immigration pact renewed

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The recent agreement between Havana and Washington to reinstate an immigration pact originally signed in 1984 commits Washington to allowing up to 27,000 Cubans to emigrate legally to the United States each year.

The Justice Department will also renew moves to deport nearly 2,600 Cubans back to their homeland. This decision sparked rebellions by Cubans being held in prisons in Atlanta, Georgia, and Oakdale, Louisiana, which put a spotlight on the unconstitutional imprisonment and racist treatment of thousands of Cuban immigrants by federal authorities.

On Dec. 14, 1984, the U.S. and Cuban governments announced an immigration agreement with the provision that Cuba would accept the return of 2,746 exiles who left their homeland during the 1980 Mariel boatlift in exchange for Washington's resumption of Cuban immigration into the United States.

The current agreement stipulates that Washington would allow up to 20,000 Cubans who do not have immediate family members in the United States to come. In addition, it is estimated that immediate family members who would emigrate to the United States would number 3,000 a year. And those seeking political asylum would be another 3,500 people.

The Cuban government suspended the 1984 agreement in May 1985 in response to Washington's "cynical and provocative decision" to start propaganda broadcasts into Cuba via "Radio José Martí," named after Cuba's national hero.

The new agreement says that Washington will "find a way" to help the Cuban government be able to broadcast its programs into the United States.

Cuba's immigration policy

Since the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959, the policy of the Cuban government has been to allow those who want to leave Cuba to do so. Cuban President Fidel Castro has explained that building socialism is a task for free men and free women. Those who don't want to participate can leave anytime.

The problem has consistently been that Washington has been unwilling to take

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Frame-up trial of Ky. miners opens

BY JIM LITTLE

ASHLAND, Ky. — Four coal miners went on trial in federal court here November 24 on charges related to the death of scab coal hauler Hayes West during the 1984-1985 mine workers' strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. operations in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia.

The union members on trial are Donnie Thornsby, president of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2496; James Darryl Smith; Arnold Heightland; and David Thornsby. They are charged with shooting at a truck used in interstate commerce, conspiracy, and with a firearm violation. If convicted, they can be sentenced to life in prison.

Another union member, Paul Smith, faces the same charges, but he will be tried separately. The incident leading to West's death took place near the Samoyed mine in Canada, Kentucky.

All five are being held without bail. Family members explain that they haven't always known where the men are confined because they have been moved frequently. Defense attorneys have also had difficulty gaining access to the miners.

With the help of the courts and the cops, Massey succeeded in defeating the 15-month UMWA strike. In a sense, that strike and the miner's union itself is now on trial in this Ashland courtroom.

The frame-up of the defendants is being orchestrated by the U.S. government. In his opening remarks, U.S. Attorney Thomas Self painted a picture of Massey under siege from union members who had no reason to picket.

"Any time the union or the United Mine Workers is involved, the U.S. government

is hostile," defense attorney Garis Pruitt replied in his opening remarks.

Potential jurors had to reveal if they had ever belonged to a union, walked a picket line, or have family members who belong to a union.

Witnesses are asked if "they ever saw these men on the picket line" as if it were a crime to picket.

The defendants do not contend that they didn't picket. In fact, two of them can prove they were picketing at the time the

government claims they were "conspiring" to shoot at scab haulers.

Coal boss Charles Carlton testified that he was on hand the day of the shooting. While he elaborated at length about the "violence" of the strikers, Carlton also swore under oath that no company security men had fired a weapon at the strikers or committed other violent acts against them or their families.

The truth is, however, that A.T. Massey

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3,000 South African troops invade Angola

BY NORTON SANDLER

Three thousand South African troops, supported by armored cars, aircraft, and heavy artillery, have been fighting Angolan army forces since early October.

The apartheid regime claims that its invasion of Angola has prevented a major de-

On-the-spot report from African National Congress meeting in Tanzania, page 2.

feat of the counterrevolutionary bands trying to topple Angola's government.

The Angolan people have not had a moment's peace since winning independence from Portugal 12 years ago. The terrorist army of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), headed

by Jonas Savimbi, which is heavily bankrolled and organized by both Pretoria and the U.S. government, has been waging a dirty war against Angola. And Pretoria has repeatedly sent its troops into Angola in support of UNITA.

Washington and Pretoria are trying to force the Angolan government to stop supporting the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). SWAPO forces are fighting to liberate Namibia, which borders on southern Angola, from South Africa's colonial occupation.

Washington and Pretoria also want to reverse the gains of the Angolan revolution. And they want to force the removal of Cuba's internationalist volunteers from Angola, who have served as a deterrent to South African aggression since 1975.

Pretoria's current invasion, one of the largest since 1975, began in October as Angolan soldiers were pursuing UNITA troops in the southeastern part of the coun-

try. South African heavy artillery, along with antitank and antiaircraft missiles supplied by Washington, were used against the Angolan soldiers.

According to Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura, South African frogmen blew up a bridge on the Lomba River, enabling South African troops and UNITA forces to encircle Angola's 47th Battalion. Angolan troops broke out of the encirclement in early November, after the heaviest fighting in the war. De Moura said 200 Angolans were killed and 500 wounded. He also said 237 South African soldiers were killed and that the apartheid regime had lost 36 military vehicles and 39 airplanes in the battle.

Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos appealed to other African leaders to "undertake the necessary action to strengthen Angola's defense."

On November 3, as evidence of South

Continued on Page 2

ANC's 75th birthday celebrated

BY SAM MANUEL

ARUSHA, Tanzania, Dec. 2 — "The peoples of the world against apartheid, for a democratic South Africa" is the theme of the international conference here sponsored by the African National Congress. The conference opened yesterday and ends December 4.

The meeting culminates activities held around the world this year to mark the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, the leading liberation organization in South Africa.

In opening the conference, ANC President Oliver Tambo stated, "We are most pleased that so many of you could come to participate in this conference, and we take this as a practical demonstration of your commitment to fight side by side with us until the apartheid crime against humanity is a thing of the past."

"The comrades who have come from home [South Africa] will return to tell our people that the world is with us. With that message ringing in their ears, millions will become unstoppable," Tambo said.

Some 600 people are attending the conference. They include activists in trade union, youth, religious, and anti-apartheid organizations from throughout Africa, Europe, and North America.

Fifteen participants came from the United States. They include Cleveland Robinson and Jim Bell of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and Lennox Hinds of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. There are representatives from the American Committee on Africa, Washington Office on Africa, National Council of Churches, and the Socialist Workers Party.

A large delegation came from Britain, including representatives of the anti-apartheid movement, the Labour Party, and the National Union of Mineworkers. Other international delegations include those from India, Iran, Malaysia, and Nicaragua.

The largest delegations have come from countries in Africa. Leading figures from the union and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa had planned to attend. However, all but five were prevented from doing so by the South African government.

The central theme of the conference has been the fight to impose international, comprehensive, and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Tambo emphasized, "We think it is most important that the campaign for sanctions should be intensified. We expect that the conference will adopt a program of action to give effect to this goal."

Tambo explained that while significant progress has been made toward imposing sanctions on the racist regime, more effective action has been blocked by the continued refusal of the major Western powers — particularly the United States, Britain, and West Germany — to act more decisively against apartheid.

Tambo noted that faced with an insoluble general crisis, the apartheid regime has raised the issue of negotiations.

The ANC leader reaffirmed that negotiations can take place only if the regime takes the political steps to create a climate for them. The necessary measures include release of all political prisoners, unbanning of the ANC and all other political organizations, and dismantling of the apartheid system. Tambo also reiterated his rejection of the regime's demand that the ANC renounce or suspend the armed struggle and renounce its alliance with the South African Communist Party.

Tambo concluded by condemning the current South African military offensive in Angola and called for the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from the

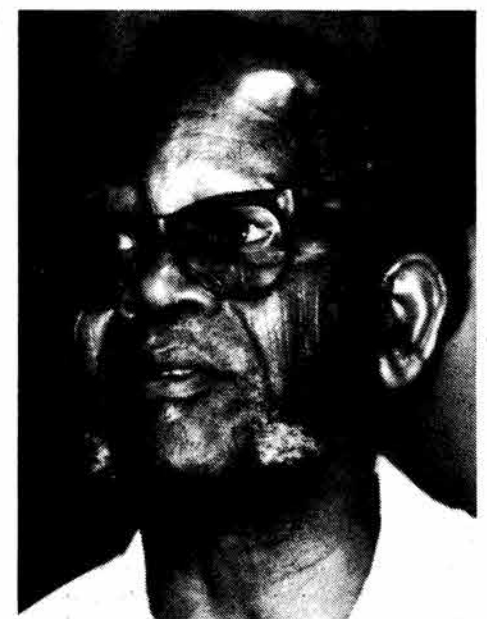
occupied country of Namibia.

He was joined at the opening of the conference by Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation.

"We in SWAPO have always regarded the struggle of the South African people as intrinsically linked with our own," Nujoma said.

Nujoma called for a stepped-up campaign for the immediate implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, which calls for the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia.

Other speakers included Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, and representatives of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.



Militant/Roberto Kopec
Oliver Tambo, president of ANC, gave opening address.

South Africa troops invade Angola

Continued from front page

African casualties in the fighting mounted, Pretoria claimed that 12 of its soldiers had died in a "preemptive strike" in Angola against SWAPO guerrillas.

But on November 11, spokespeople for the apartheid regime acknowledged for the first time that its forces were fighting in support of UNITA.

South African Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys said they had invaded because "Russians and Cubans" had joined the fighting alongside the Angolan army.

This contradicted repeated statements by UNITA head Savimbi that his soldiers had forced the Angolan army to retreat.

It was revealed a few days later that South African President Pieter Botha and five cabinet members had gone to Angola in early November to visit South African troops.

South African intervention

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) waged a long and successful guerrilla struggle against Portuguese colonial domination. As the Portuguese prepared to leave in 1975, South African troops invaded Angola. The MPLA government survived with the aid of tens of thousands of Cuban volunteers, who helped the Angolan soldiers drive out the invaders.

South African troops have since repeatedly invaded the southern part of Angola.

In 1981 peasants were forced to flee their homes in southern Angola as South African forces burned and bombed towns and crops.

The United Nations reported in 1983 that 10,000 Angolans had been killed in attacks by South Africa. In December of that year, the apartheid forces struck hundreds of miles into Angola, again inflicting heavy damage and taking hundreds more lives.

The South African air force massively

bombed Angolan army positions in 1985 as they were registering advances against UNITA.

Washington's role

As Portuguese colonialism collapsed in Angola, the U.S. government began giving millions of dollars to UNITA and the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA). The hope was that a group sympathetic to Washington's aims in the region, instead of the MPLA, would emerge as the ruling party in Angola.

Washington's ability to intervene directly in the struggle was limited by the widespread opposition of the U.S. people to another Vietnam-style war.

Because of that opposition, the Senate adopted the Clark Amendment in late 1975, which formally barred U.S. funding to UNITA and other opponents of the Angolan government.

For the next decade, the U.S. government was forced to conceal the support it provided UNITA.

In 1985, at the urging of the Reagan administration, Congress agreed to repeal the Clark Amendment.

The House of Representatives voted in September 1986 to give the Reagan administration the go-ahead to provide covert arms to UNITA. A bipartisan majority rejected a proposal that would have blocked such aid unless it was openly approved by Congress.

The CIA has acknowledged providing UNITA with \$15 million a year in military hardware, including antitank and anti-aircraft missiles over the past two years.

In February 1987 the *New York Times* reported that U.S. C-130 and C-141 supply planes were making airdrops to UNITA forces from bases in Zaire. By July the number of drops was up to four to five a week.

This growing U.S. involvement in the war in Angola is being carried out with the

knowledge and agreement of both parties in Congress. Moreover, there is no significant voice on Capitol Hill calling for reinstatement of the Clark Amendment.

Terrorist attacks

In its operations in Angola, UNITA has concentrated on destroying bridges, railway lines, and economic projects. Every factory, government building, and health clinic inside the country must be guarded against attack.

Angola has been forced to pour \$12 billion into the war. More than 60,000 people have died, and 600,000 of the country's 8 million people have been forced to flee from the countryside into the cities.

Much of the arable land has been destroyed. There is growing famine, and 4,000 people have died from cholera in the capital city of Luanda so far this year.

For years, Pretoria and Washington have tried to give the appearance that UNITA is a struggling national liberation group fighting Soviet and Cuban aggression in the area. Moreover, Washington and Pretoria have claimed that Savimbi's army is a force capable of standing up to the Angolan army, as a way to cover up the massive U.S. and South African role.

On November 12, Savimbi put captured Cuban pilots Manuel Rojas and Ramón Quezada on display for reporters. He claimed the Cubans were shot down while bombing UNITA forces.

The Cuban pilots denied the charge, explaining that they were shot down while on a reconnaissance mission. The pilots told the press that Cuban forces in Angola are in "permanent positions," and that "anything said other than that is an outright lie."

The Cuban and Angolan governments have repeatedly explained that Cuban troops play a defensive role in protecting Angola and that they are in the country at the request of the government.

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— Carlos Hernández
a leader of the 18-month strike by
Teamsters Local 912 against Norcal
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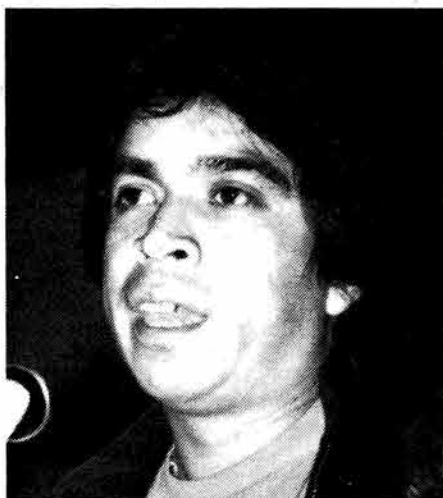
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Labor rally backs Maine paper strike

Int'l Paper stages provocation at mill gate; strikers plan to 'go nationwide'

BY SUSAN LaMONT
AND JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Unfazed by sub-freezing weather, 3,000 striking paperworkers and their supporters staged a militant march past International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill here November 21 to show the unity of their strike against IP, now in its sixth month.

Hundreds of strikers — members of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246 — were joined by family members, community supporters, unionists from around New England, and a few union members from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

Workers from the construction trades, shipbuilders, electrical workers, UPIU members from other paper mills, rail workers on strike against Guilford Transportation in New England, garment workers, and other unionists came to show solidarity with the 1,250 striking IP workers.

The day's events began with a brief rally at the Jay community building, where weekly union/family meetings are held. Those attending had a chance to get acquainted with each other at the well-organized commissary set up by strike supporters in the basement. After grabbing a cup of coffee or a bite to eat, everyone came upstairs and listened to several speakers, including officials from the Maine

lost union spirit throughout the country. But because of Reagan's offensive, it has begun to turn around."

Describing how the strike has brought workers from different unions together, he continued, "Up until the last year or two, paperworkers, ship builders, carpenters — everyone had their own concerns. When the companies' offensive started, the common concerns of the unions pulled us together. The war is against the unions, not just the UPIU."

He described the paperworkers' decision to strike when IP refused to back off from the concessions it demanded, including an end to Sunday premium pay, elimination of Christmas as a shutdown holiday, and a plan to boost productivity. The company even refused to accept the unions' offer to extend the old contract for two more years.

Describing IP's stonewalling at the few negotiating sessions that have been held since the strike began June 16, Meserve said, "Every time we meet, IP gets harder." At the last session, he said, "IP only wanted to negotiate welfare benefits for the strikers, like retraining and relocation." IP's current stance is that the 1,000 scabs who now work in the mill are permanent employees.

Meserve also reported that scabs working at the mill had filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board asking for new union representation elections to be held at the mill, marking the possible beginning of an effort to decertify the unions. (The NLRB announced November 23 that the petition was being deferred "pending disposition of the labor charges on both sides.")

Ray Rogers hired

He concluded by describing the financial contributions and widespread solidarity the locals have received from other workers and announced plans to "go nationwide" with the fight against IP. This announcement was greeted by foot-stomping and cheering from the crowd. It referred to the decision to hire Ray Rogers's Corporate Campaign to help coordinate a national "grassroots" campaign in support of the strikers in Jay, as well as workers on strike or locked out at other IP mills in DePere Wisconsin; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and Mobile, Alabama. The decision was finalized on November 23 by the UPIU International Executive Board.

Rogers helped organize solidarity in the hard-fought 1985-86 meat-packers' strike against Geo. A. Hormel and Co. in Austin, Minnesota. Earlier, he worked on behalf of southern textile workers in their efforts to organize J.P. Stevens.

After the indoor rally, everyone went outside, piled into cars and pick-ups, and drove to a lot down the road from the mill, where the marchers reassembled. Having secured a three-hour suspension of the court injunction limiting pickets at the mill gates, the demonstrators, led by a group of strikers' children, marched toward the mill, chanting "Scabs out, union in" and waving homemade signs.

Company provocation

Big cheers greeted the pickets who were on the duty at the gates as the marchers went by. As the crowd assembled in front of the main gate and began singing "Solidarity Forever," a large Confederate flag was unfurled from the roof of the mill, where IP security guards were watching and filming the demonstration.

The marchers' anger grew as the crowd moved closer to the gate and shouted for the flag — which the unionists see as a symbol of scabherding and union-busting — to be taken down. The cops backed away from the gate, and the marchers debated what to do. Recognizing the company's provocation for what it was, the demonstrators moved away from the gate, with the help of the union's marshals. A big roar went up as the flag was lifted from the roof. A few minutes later it was brought down and thrown over the fence to the demonstrators, who tore it into small pieces.

Before the march returned to the community center, Democratic presidential candidate Richard Gephardt addressed the



Militant/Margrethe Siem

International Paper tried to provoke November 21 demonstrators by unfurling Confederate flag from mill roof. Local 14 Vice-president Felix Jacques (center) and others angrily shouted for flag to be removed.

crowd briefly.

A few days later, nearly 1,000 strikers and supporters — in an upbeat mood after the successful November 21 action — attended a Thanksgiving-eve union/family meeting where the latest developments in the strike were reported. State AFL-CIO field organizer Pete Kellman announced that labor "ambassadors" — as the locals' outreach speakers are known — will be addressing 13 union speaking engagements in Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Maine during the week after Thanksgiving.

An even bigger effort is planned for January, when the Jay locals will send a 50-member strike caravan to 17 Maine cities for demonstrations, community leafleting, mass meetings, labor dances, and labor outreach.

On November 23, Superior Court Judge Morton Brody found locals 14 and 246 in contempt of his July 7 injunction governing strike conduct.

While Brody could find no evidence that the union "directly instigated" actions against company property, scabs, or strike-breaking contractors, he stated that such actions were "condoned" by the union and fined the locals \$10,000. Of the 18 workers charged, four were found guilty of contempt, but were told they could "purge" themselves of the verdict by complying with the order.

Brody also found UPIU International President Wayne Glenn's speech to the Au-

gust 11 union/family meeting "inappropriately and irresponsibly inciteful," as IP had charged, and cited the speech as a reason for the stiff fines.

Brody also found IP "technically in violation" of the injunction, but declined to levy any fines against the company. He dismissed charges brought by the union against 35 scabs.

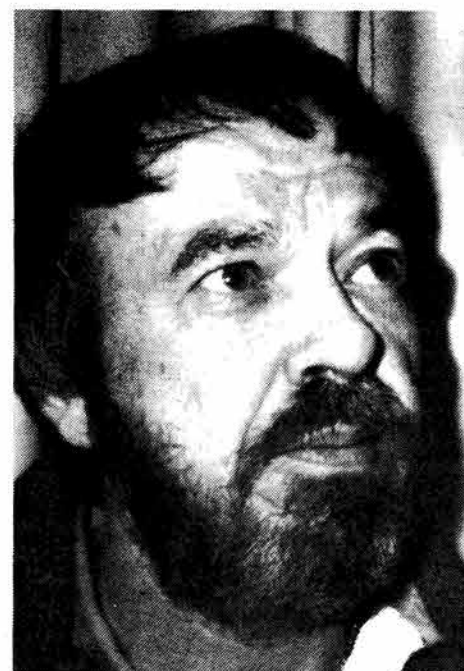
The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has summoned the UPIU and IP to Washington, D.C., for talks on the strikes and lock-outs on December 2.

JAY, Maine — Bryce Thomas, who died suddenly of a heart attack on November 14, was a "victim of our struggle, our battle," UPIU Local 14 President Bill Meserve told a hushed crowd here November 18. Some 1,200 strikers and supporters stood for a moment of silence to honor the 48-year-old unionist who had spent 29 years working for International Paper.

Thomas was a strike shift coordinator and took responsibility no one else wanted, Meserve said, "the 3:00 a.m. to 7:00 a.m. picket line."

"If you had any kind of problem, you came to him," he said, indicating the respect his fellow unionists had for him. He was "steady all the time."

Thomas discovered the body of his younger brother, who also worked in the mill, after he was crushed in the No. 2 paper machine in an accident in 1966.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

UPIU Local 14 President Bill Meserve

AFL-CIO and UPIU Local 14 President Bill Meserve.

Meserve's speech

Explaining the background to the strike, Meserve said, "In 1981, we had PATCO [referring to the air traffic controllers' strike broken by Reagan]. This was the signal for corporations throughout America to 'go for it.' In 1987, we have IPCO."

"The only way to beat the corporations is with solidarity. We have that in this fight. For too long, we were complacent. . . . We

Marcos sued in deaths of Seattle unionists

Federal Judge Barbara Rothstein ruled November 4 that ousted Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos and Imelda Marcos can be defendants in a civil rights suit brought by the estates of Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo.

The two anti-Marcos activists, officers of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 37 in Seattle, were gunned down on June 1, 1981. A growing body of evidence points to agents of the Marcos dictatorship, which fell last year, as the murderers.

The court ruled that the Marcoses are no longer entitled to head-of-state immunity. "The Marcoses have provided no case law" showing that head-of-state immunity extends to acts of political terrorism or murder, that is, acts clearly outside the purview of any governmental leader's rights, responsibilities, and duties."

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The day after: how stock exchange almost disintegrated

BY FRED FELDMAN

The New York Stock Exchange nearly disintegrated on October 20 — the day after the \$500 billion crash in stock prices, reporters James Stewart and Daniel Hertzberg revealed in the November 20 *Wall Street Journal*. The Wall Street panic sparked the near collapse of the Chicago markets, and rolled on into the stock markets of Western Europe and Asia.

Disintegration was headed off by a rescue operation engineered by big investment banks and corporations, and powered by a massive flow of money from the government's Federal Reserve Bank.

Stewart's and Hertzberg's blow-by-blow account highlighted both the devastating character of the crash itself, and the vulnerability today of the entire structure of capitalist industry, finance, and trade to catastrophic shocks and disruptions.

Role of stock markets

October 19 "was the worst [day] in Wall Street's history," explained Stewart and

What are stocks, bonds, options, and futures?

Stocks are shares in the ownership of a corporation, issued by the corporation. They entitle the owner to periodic receipt of dividend payments and, in the case of certain types of shares, to a vote as a shareholder on company policies.

Bonds are interest-bearing certificates issued by banks, corporations, and governments. They are to be repaid in a fixed period of time.

Options entitle the owner to buy or sell particular stocks at a fixed price for a specified period of time.

Futures are contracts involving cash or commodities. Based on the current prices of commodities or stocks, they are speculations on future shifts in market prices.

Hertzberg. The prices of stocks dropped by 23 percent in a few hours — a loss of more than \$500 billion.

While operating in many ways like giant gambling casinos, the stock, bond, and futures markets are — more importantly — at the hub of massive flows of capital among industrial corporations, banks, governments, and individual capitalists. These capital flows, sucked out of the exploited labor of workers, farmers, and peasants around the world, are the lifeblood of the capitalist system.

The rise and fall of stock, stock and commodity futures, and bond market prices serve as a measure for the capitalists of the health and prospects of individual firms and of the economy as a whole.

Frederick Engels, who collaborated with Karl Marx in founding the communist workers' movement, summed up the vital role of the stock market in an addendum to Volume 3 of Marx's *Capital*. "The stock exchange," wrote Engels, "has the tendency to concentrate the whole of production, industrial as well as agricultural, together with the whole of commerce . . . in the hands of stock-exchange speculators, so that the stock exchange becomes the most pre-eminent representative of capitalist production as such."

On October 19 and for several hours the next day, the *Journal* reporters wrote, the big investment firms that play a key role in the New York exchange were overwhelmed by "huge international flows of capital, nearly triggering a shutdown of the exchange and a public crisis of confidence."

Capital flows in — and out

One factor that distinguished this stock market crash from the one in 1929 was the

much vaster amounts of capital from around the capitalist world that were at stake. The stock exchange boom, like the U.S. economic upturn as a whole, had been powered in part by an enormous flow of capital into this country from abroad.

As signs accumulated that a recession was approaching and as fears grew that banks and other financial institutions were becoming more unstable, a near-catastrophe was triggered.

After the close of trading on October 19, the *Journal* team explained, the situation got worse. Major investment firms had gone massively into the red in an effort to calm the market by buying up stock from panic-stricken speculators. These firms then found that banks would not extend them further credit to finance these purchases or future ones.

One investment banker described being told on five occasions that night by representatives of Bankers Trust Co. that "they were in no position to make commitments."

"If credit dried up," Stewart and Hertzberg pointed out, "securities firms could start to collapse, much as the banks did after the 1929 crash." Officials of the Federal Reserve Bank "saw a real threat of gridlock developing in the markets: Even the simplest financial transaction might have become impossible."

Market comes apart

When the New York exchange opened the next morning, things deteriorated rapidly. After an initial surge, trading dried up. The Wall Street firms that usually take the role of buying and selling to stabilize the market had lost two-thirds their total \$3 billion in buying power the day before.

There were plenty of firms and individuals trying to sell stock, but no one to buy it. "One after another, major stocks broke down and couldn't be traded."

Then trading on the Major Market Index, consisting of 20 of the most reliable blue chip stocks, was shut down. The pattern spread to Chicago. The Chicago Board Options Exchange halted trading, and the Chicago Mercantile Exchange ended trading in stock futures.

Major investment banking firms reportedly called on the U.S. government to shut down the exchanges.

At 12:30 p.m., New York Stock Exchange officials and representatives of major investment firms reportedly met to consider shutting down the "Big Board," as the stock exchange is called on Wall Street.



Stock exchange dealers review orders to buy and sell stocks and futures in wake of October 19 crash. The next day, it required massive intervention by government's Federal Reserve Bank, investment bankers, and major corporations to head off further plunge in prices, a shutdown of markets, and breakdown of credit and finance institutions.

Stock exchange chairman John Phelan told the *Journal* that shutting the Big Board would have radically deepened the crisis. It "would be taken as an extremely bad sign," he said, predicting that the shattering of confidence would be irreparable. "If we close it, we would never open it."

Instead of shutting down, a major rescue operation was launched.

The money rolls in

The first move came from the Federal Reserve Bank, which began to purchase bonds and securities — putting massive amounts of money into the accounts of the banks and financial institutions that sold them. The central bank also informed other banks that they could expand their borrowing from the federal institution, thus putting still more money into the lending system. Interest rates dropped.

As a result of the Federal Reserve's massive purchases and other moves, "the bond market rallied strongly, providing crucial support for the broader financial system."

With strong assurances that the Federal Reserve Bank would back them up, the banks began providing credit again. The 10 biggest New York banks poured \$12 billion in loans into the securities firms that week — nearly double the normal rate.

Minutes after the New York Stock Exchange officials began meeting, a few key prices soared in a sudden five-minute rally.

Some desperate investors hailed this as "a miracle."

But Stewart and Hertzberg point to purchases by a few key investment firms aiming to stem the crash, rather than divine intervention, as the probable cause.

USX and other corporations announced major buybacks of their stock from investors frantically trying to sell. According to the *Journal* reporters, representatives of First Boston and other investment banks had called up their lists of corporate clients to urge this move, no doubt offering the necessary guarantees about credit. The exchanges in New York and Chicago began to roll again as trading picked up steam.

Weak recovery

The next morning, Wednesday, October 21, the big-business press headlined claims of a great Wall Street recovery on Tuesday. In fact, only 537 stocks had increased in price, while 1,237 dropped. News of the near disintegration of the market — "the most dangerous day we had in 50 years," as investment banker Felix Rohatyn put it — was not reported in the media.

On October 21, nearly 1,800 stocks scored price increases. The catastrophe was averted this time.

"It looks like there was almost a get-together on the part of corporate America to prop up the market," one speculator commented.

The stock market remains unsettled, however, with sharp rises and sudden drops that have so far left prices not far above the levels they reached in the October 19 crash.

"I think we came within an hour" of disintegration of the stock market, stated banker Rohatyn about the events of October 20. "The fact that we didn't have a meltdown doesn't mean we didn't have a breakdown. Chernobyl didn't end the world, but it sure made a terrible mess."

Jailing of Illinois farmer protested

BY OMARI MUSA

PRINCETON, Ill. — "Free Ken, jail the bankers," read one of the signs carried at a rally of 75 farmers and supporters here November 17. The rally was called by the Farmer Support Group based in nearby Sterling to protest the jailing of Kenneth Leffelman.

On October 19 Circuit Court Judge James Wimbiscus jailed Leffelman for contempt of court. The judge ruled that Leffelman refused to pay the First State Bank of Princeton \$75,000 still due after the bank foreclosed on Leffelman's farm. The bank initially claimed he owed \$343,000. But that sum was reduced after it seized the family farm, machinery, and livestock.

Leffelman pointed out to the judge in an October hearing that he did not own the property. It belonged to the Lazy L Family Preservation Trust, which was set up in October 1983. The trust was established at the First State Bank of Princeton and has not been contested by the bank or anyone else since its formation.

Wimbiscus acknowledged this fact but still called the trust "a sham used to shield his farm assets."

The rally participants responded to the judge's action with the chant, "Ken's doing time without committing a crime." Family member Susan Leffelman told the rally that Ken "was being denied due process. He hasn't committed a crime. Why is he in jail?"

Duane Kruse explained he knew what the Leffelmans were going through. He had been jailed for 62 days a year ago because he allegedly hid farm equipment from bank foreclosure officials. He was freed after protests. "They still haven't found the equipment and I still don't know why I was jailed," Kruse told the crowd.

Farm Support Group leader Denton Swarts from Dixon, Illinois, chaired the rally. "The judge says there are no debtors' prisons in Bureau County, but then he says Ken can go home if he comes up with \$75,000. That sounds like he's in debtors' prison to me," Swarts said that five farmers have been jailed in the last year in Illinois.

During the rally a heckler attempted to disrupt it by yelling, "Let him rot!" Swarts invited the heckler to the front of the protest to explain himself. When he refused, many farmers heatedly discussed with him the issues in the case and the plight of farm-

ers in Illinois.

"Look," said one farmer from Dixon, "the banks told us five years ago to buy land and we did. We trusted the banks. Then the price of our land went way down and we can barely make it. Now the same banks are foreclosing like its going out of style. We're going out, period."

After the rally participants marched to the First State Bank of Princeton. They walked into the bank and demanded that its officers get the judge to rescind his contempt of court order. They then marched to Bureau County jail to give Leffelman support. Several farmers commented on the intimidating tactics of the cops. During the rally and march uniformed cops stood atop the jail videotaping all participants.

Labor news in the Militant

The Militant stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

Why didn't Congress ask North about Angola?

BY FRED FELDMAN

Lt. Col. Oliver North boasted in his testimony to the congressional committee investigating the Iran-contra arms deals that he had fought in two U.S. wars: in Vietnam and Angola.

It will probably come as news to most people that the U.S. government has been at war in Angola, and that at least one U.S. military officer has seen combat there.

Yet no member of the committee asked North any questions about his activities in Angola or any other U.S. operations there. Nor did any committee member comment on North's admission when the body's report on the arms deals was made public on November 18.

Illegal operations

This in spite of the fact that from 1976 to 1985 any U.S. assistance to forces fighting the Angolan government was barred by the Clark Amendment — a measure similar to the Boland Amendment, which barred assistance to the Nicaraguan contras. Although the Clark Amendment was revoked by Congress in 1985, the repeal measure did not authorize the participation of U.S. military personnel in combat operations in Angola.

The committee ignored North's admission even though it had strong evidence that the covert operations in Angola were closely linked to those exposed when the Iran-contra arms deal became public.

According to a guest column in the November 23 *New York Times* by Michael Maren, contributing editor of *Africa Report*, "Representative Howard Wolpe, Democrat of Michigan, wrote several letters to the chairman of the Iran-contra committees explaining the ties between southern Africa and the Iran-contra affair. Similarities included 'key personalities initiating and directing events, the principal sources of financing and the commercial cargo carriers employed'...."

"Mr. Wolpe's aides even supplied a witness," Maren reported, "who was willing to testify that Saudi Arabia had agreed to arm and train" guerrilla units aligned with South Africa in Angola. "The committees declined to question him, and questions pertaining to southern Africa were brushed aside."

War against Angola

The Clark Amendment barring such operations was adopted by Congress in 1976, after it became widespread public knowledge that Washington had worked closely with the imperialist regime in South Africa in carrying out a large-scale invasion of Angola in October 1975.

The invasion aimed to overturn the government being set up by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which had played the leading role in the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule. The country officially became independent in November 1975.

The CIA was also exposed as having funded mercenaries for the South African-backed forces — the Angolan National Liberation Front, headed by Holden Roberto, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, headed by Jonas Savimbi.

Although the Clark Amendment barred Washington from aiding the antigovernment forces in Angola, the South African regime continued to provide large-scale support, including troops. And Reagan publicly hailed the South African-backed forces as "freedom fighters." North's statement adds to the evidence that illegal U.S. operations against Angola also continued.

The congressional response to North's revelation reflected the legislators' readiness to wink at covert wars — even in direct violation of U.S. laws. They will do this as long as these covert wars, unlike the contra war, show some promise of success and don't explode into embarrassing scandals.

Pentagon terror unit

The committee also acquiesced in keeping a wide range of the U.S. government's illegal operations in support of the contras under wraps. While attention was focused on the National Security Council, the C.I.A., and, to a lesser extent, the State Department, the Pentagon's secret operations against Nicaragua escaped scrutiny. And not because congressional leaders



John Stockwell (left), then head of CIA Angola task force, with Holden Roberto (center) in 1975. Roberto was a leader of forces seeking to topple Angola government with heavy backing from CIA and apartheid regime. Oliver North recently admitted fighting in Angola war.

didn't know about them.

From 1981 to 1983, more than \$325 million was appropriated for the army's Special Operations Division. Portrayed as a high-powered "antiterrorist" force, the unit actually became a player in U.S.-organized terrorism against Nicaragua.

"The men in Special Operations," wrote Seymour Hersh in the November 22 *New York Times Magazine*, "were instrumental in ferrying Army Special Forces personnel under cover to Honduras, where they helped CIA operatives train specially recruited Honduran troops for bloody hit-and-run operations into Nicaragua. They supplied Army rapid-firing cannons known as 'bushmasters' to the small boats used by the CIA to mine harbors and destroy oil depots during a series of controversial raids on Nicaragua's east coast in the fall of 1983."

In all, reported Hersh, the unit carried out 40 operations in Central America. It was also involved in secret operations in other parts of the world.

At that time, prior to the passage of the Boland Amendment, legislation barred the Defense Department and CIA from actions aimed at overthrowing the Nicaraguan government or provoking a military exchange between Honduras and Nicaragua.

"Defense Secretary Weinberger and other key Department of Defense civilians were to be informed of these activities," wrote Hersh, "and regular briefings were given to the House and Senate Appropriations and Armed Services Committees, whose members and senior staff knew when not to ask too many questions. But no information was provided to the House and Senate Intelligence Committees."

Some members of these committees,

however, were told of the unit's involvement in operations against Nicaragua. They kept it under their hats.

After the mining of harbors and other operations against Nicaragua spurred international protests, the Pentagon used illegal wiretapping and rampant financial corruption by the unit as pretexts for cracking down on it. Col. James Longhofer, the unit's commander, was sentenced to one year in jail after a secret court martial.

When then secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger testified before the Iran-contra investigating committee, nobody grilled him about the Special Operations Unit and its illegal activities. Instead, the committee members and the big-business media cast Weinberger, along with Secretary of State George Shultz, as "good guys" in the administration because of their opposition to the dealings with Iran.

Pardons for Reagan's men?

In the wake of the publication of the congressional report, the Reagan administration floated trial balloons testing the likely response to presidential pardons for North and former national security advisers John Poindexter and Robert McFarlane. Presidential pardons would effectively cripple, if not end, the investigation headed by special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, who is reportedly preparing indictments of North, Poindexter, and possibly others.

William Clark, a long-time Reagan crony who also served as national security adviser, wrote a letter to the president in which he proposed issuing the pardons. They should not have to face a trial, Clark said of the three former officials, "in which the central issue relates to the creation and implementation of your foreign policy."

Presidential media spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater said Reagan would not comment on whether he was considering issuing pardons.

The editors of the *New York Times* warned Reagan against such a move. "The committees' bipartisan majority found that [the president] failed in his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," they wrote in a November 25 editorial. "Especially where the President himself bears so much responsibility, he needs to let the legal process work. Irregular use of the pardoning power would smell like a reward for stopping the buck short of his own desk."

English miners fight pit closings

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

BARNESLEY, England — Three hundred Yorkshire coal miners crowded into the West Gawber Miners Welfare social center here October 25 to protest the British Coal Board's announcement that it is going to close the Woolley and Redbrook mines.

If the Coal Board goes ahead with the closings, it will cost 1,300 miners their jobs and have a devastating impact on the small communities nearby.

Some 80,000 mining jobs have been lost through government mine closures since the end of 1984-85 British coal strike. Over this past year, under pressure from the Coal Board and faced with the threat of permanent job loss, 34,000 miners have taken buyout offers and left the industry.

But the unceasing attacks on the union have sparked resistance from the ranks of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). This was reflected in the mood of the meeting.

NUM President Arthur Scargill, who used to work at the Woolley mine, told the meeting that the government-run Coal Board wants to cut back to a total of 70 mines in all of Britain employing 70,000 men and producing 7 million metric tons annually.

Scargill pointed out that Woolley and Redbrook mines are not exhausted and have reserves that would last up to 30 years at the present rate of coal extraction.

"They imported 15 million tons of coal... produced either by slave labor in South Africa, subsidized by state aid in Australia or the United States, or mined by children of nine years old in Colombia," Scargill

said. "We don't need training in morals to know that we shouldn't be competing against nine year olds."

Scargill said miners should reject the Coal Board's buyout offers and urged them to "stand and fight" the closings.

Also speaking were NUM leaders Jack Taylor and Eric Richardson, local Labour Party leaders, and Marsha Marshall, head of the Barnesley Miners Wives' Action Group.

That evening 30 people attended a meeting to begin organizing a campaign against the closings. Present were miners and their families, Labour Party activists, and members of other unions, including the National

Union of Railwaymen.

The miners' wives group played an important role in the meeting. "There have been a lot of closures — in this case women in our group are affected," Marsha Marshall explained after the meeting ended.

"After the strike, people were demoralized," she said. "We want this campaign to begin to lift them up, to get them not to accept what the Coal Board says. What we feel as women is that we became more aware in the struggle. We want to try to make this a turning point in this fight."

Karen Kopperud is a member of the United Transportation Union in New Jersey.

Communist Party won't run '88 ticket

The Communist Party has announced that it won't be fielding a presidential ticket in the 1988 elections. This will be the first time since 1968 that the CP will not run candidates for president and vice-president.

At a November 19 news conference in New York, CP General Secretary Gus Hall said that restrictive ballot laws in many states means that "you virtually can't run if you're not a Democrat or a Republican."

According to the CP's newspaper, the *People's Daily World*, CP leader James Steele told a meeting in Hartford, Connecticut, the same week, "Our objective for 1988 is to weld a new level of all-people's unity powerful enough to win victory."

The *World* reported that Steele "called for an all-out effort to turn the 1988 referendum on Reaganism into a repudiation of Reaganites. He said, 'We can have a peace president and a peace congress.'"

At the news conference with Hall, Steele said the CP would try to run 100 of its own candidates for municipal and state offices.

After not running a presidential ticket since 1940, the CP ran Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell for president and vice-president in 1968. Their names appeared on the ballot in two states.

Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner were the standard-bearers in 1972 and 1976, and Hall and Angela Davis ran in 1980 and 1984. The Hall-Davis ticket appeared on the ballot in 22 states and Washington, D.C., in 1984, one less than in 1980.

Subscription drive aids Seattle plant-gate sales

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — Circulation drive target weeks are also good weeks for plant-gate sales. That's what Seattle-area distributors of the

gion. Distributors also sell each week outside Seattle Steel and the Hormel meat-packing plants as well as at the railyards.

Between them, these teams sold

the United Transportation Union. The team happened upon a group of workers in the lunch room with a little time on their hands. Two of them expressed interest in the *Militant's* coverage on what is happening inside Nicaragua in response to the peace accords and coverage of strikes by paperworkers in Jay, Maine, and other cities. These unionists decided to purchase an introductory subscription.

The third subscription was sold through the combined effort of a plant-gate team and a *Militant* supporter who works at Boeing's Renton plant. The supporter overheard two coworkers discussing

the *Militant* as they approached a plant-gate sales team. One had positive things to say about the paper, the other negative. The next day the supporter took time to talk politics with the union member who had good things to say about the *Militant* and ended up selling a subscription.

Most paperworkers on the West Coast are members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW). We sold 160 copies of the *Militant* and two subscriptions during November to AWPPW members in Washington State.

This outreach effort included sales at the Georgia Pacific plant

in Bellingham, Scott Paper in Everett, Longview Fiber in Seattle, Boise-Cascade in Steilacoom, and at ITT Rayonier and Grays Harbor Paper in Hoquiam.

Sales were particularly good at the Grays Harbor plant in Hoquiam, which is owned by International Paper Co (IP). AWPPW members fought a nine-month long strike there in 1979. Since IP's demands for takebacks is nothing new for these union members, they were very interested in the articles about the fight against takebacks unionists are waging at IP mills in Maine, Wisconsin, Alabama, and Pennsylvania.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Militant, *New International*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* found out this fall.

We regularly organize sales at the three different Boeing aerospace plants in the Puget Sound re-

three subscriptions to the *Militant*, as well as three single copies, during the November 14-21 target period.

Two of the subscriptions were sold at the railyard to members of

Kentucky miners on trial in U.S. gov't frame-up

Continued from front page

hired an army of gun thugs to try to break the strike. The strike was provoked by the company's refusal to go along with the national agreement the UMW reached in 1984 with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

During the bitter strike, union leaders' homes were shot up by the gun thugs on Massey's payroll. The picket shack at the Samoyed mine was dynamited, and a woman miner was shot through the hand by company security men while she was in the picket shack.

The first days of the trial reveal that the government has no evidence. There is nothing that connects the rifles supposedly used to shoot up the coal truck to the unionists on trial. The rifles used in the incident could well have been those of the company's security guards. Nobody has claimed that they saw the union men shoot at the truck.

Much of the second day of the trial was taken up by the testimony of one of the prosecution's central witnesses, Phillip West. He is the brother of the dead driver and owner of the scab coal hauling company.

West testified that on the day of the

shooting he had driven his pickup truck in a convoy with the two coal haulers who later got shot. He claimed that he stopped short of where the shots were fired and came up later to load his wounded brother into the pickup to take him for help.

West testified that before getting help he stopped at the mining office to talk to Carlton.

Then he drove to the fire station where the brother was loaded into an ambulance for a trip to the hospital. He died later.

But Phillip West did not go directly from the fire station to the hospital with his brother. Instead he returned to the site of the shooting to get a gun that he had left behind. When defense attorneys asked him why he would do such an odd thing as return for a gun when his brother was dying, West changed his story to say he returned because he was afraid his trucks would be further damaged.

When defense attorneys pointed out that West's sworn testimony at a workers' compensation hearing was in direct contradiction to his federal court testimony, he changed his story again.

A recess was called. Afterward, West said on the stand that he had lied at the compensation hearing so that he could beat

his dead brother's widow out of compensation payments.

It then surfaced that the shotgun West carried in his pickup is the same kind his brother had been shot with.

West explained that federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms agents came to his home and seized the weapon. It turns out that West is a convicted felon, and it is illegal for him to possess firearms.

But the weapon was never tested in connection with this case. Ironically, one of

the charges against defendant Arnold Heightand is that he is a convicted felon who possessed a firearm.

Defense attorney Pruitt said West's testimony was "proof that the government can't put on an honest case."

Pruitt pointed out that the government had taken the unusual step of having a Justice Department agent from Washington sit in on the case. Also assisting at the prosecution table is FBI Special Agent Sam Smith.



Solidarity action for Massey miners held in Detroit in 1985

Militant/Harris Freeman

Next 'Militant' will carry final circulation and fund drive totals

BY NORTON SANDLER

As we go to press, final totals for the fall circulation campaign and the Socialist Publications Fund are still being counted.

Big progress on both campaigns has been registered since the scoreboards that appeared in the last issue of the *Militant* were tabulated November 18.

Our supporters have organized an all-out push during the final days of both campaigns, extending their efforts right up to the deadline.

Since then, our readers have sent in more than \$57,000 for the Socialist Publications Fund, and we were still counting at press time.

The fund helps support the circulation and distribution of the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New International*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale* and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Since the last circulation scoreboard, our distributors have so far reported selling 371 copies of *New International*, 263 *PM* subscriptions, and 1,143 *Militant* subscriptions.

Eleven areas have already gone over their goal for the circulation campaign, and 15 have surpassed their fund drive goal.

The final scoreboards will be printed next week.

Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions		<i>New International</i> single copies		<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions		Totals		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goals	Sold	% Sold
Cleveland	105	120	20	24	15	17	140	161	115
San Diego	85	104	25	19	40	37	150	160	107
Los Angeles	300	350	100	75	175	180	575	605	105
Greensboro, N.C.	140	147	20	21	15	15	175	183	105
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	137	25	25	5	3	160	165	103
New York	600	611	350	355	200	216	1,150	1,182	103
Seattle	300	313	50	47	50	50	400	410	103
Atlanta	120	135	35	22	20	22	175	179	102
Omaha, Neb.	70	79	20	11	10	12	100	102	102
Des Moines, Iowa	125	146	35	27	15	4	175	177	101
Phoenix	140	152	25	12	100	102	265	266	100
Birmingham, Ala.	150	160	35	17	5	6	190	183	96
San Francisco	180	183	50	30	70	72	300	285	95
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	196	75	54	20	11	275	261	95
Boston	225	270	50	30	100	55	375	355	95
Austin, Minn.	85	86	10	1	15	16	110	103	94
Baltimore	140	148	40	23	10	5	190	176	93
Detroit	200	201	35	20	25	16	260	237	91
Washington, D.C.	130	130	60	40	30	30	220	200	91
Price, Utah	48	46	10	4	2	4	60	54	90
Milwaukee	115	119	35	24	15	5	165	148	90
Miami	120	132	40	9	40	28	200	169	85
Kansas City	105	100	25	6	20	15	150	121	81
Portland, Ore.	100	101	40	30	30	6	170	137	81
Salt Lake City	150	138	25	6	25	10	200	154	77
Houston	200	176	50	18	40	27	290	221	76
Chicago	225	177	50	37	75	49	350	263	75
St. Louis	175	139	50	26	10	11	235	176	75
Newark, N.J.	350	266	75	41	125	68	550	375	68
Charleston, W. Va.	125	82	20	9	2	2	147	93	63
Philadelphia	150	103	50	16	50	22	250	141	56
Pittsburgh	175	94	30	24	10	3	215	121	56
Oakland, Calif.	150	109	100	16	50	18	300	143	48
Albany, N.Y.	20	14						14	
Amherst, Mass.	5	6				1		7	
Annandale, N.Y.	20	11				2		13	
Cincinnati	10	10						10	
Louisville, Ky.	7	6						6	
San Jose, Calif.	75	43			50	19		62	
Coal Teams		39						39	
Other U.S. areas		28				3		31	
Australia		6		6				12	
Britain		118		141		7		266	
Canada		127		51		46		224	
New Zealand		33		19				52	
Puerto Rico						19		19	
Other Internat'l		16				8		24	
Totals		5,907		1,336		1,242		8,485	89%
Drive Goals	6,000		2,000		1,500		9,500		
Should Be								9,500	100%

Portraits of Sandino, Fonseca painted on Pathfinder mural

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

NEW YORK — The first portrait to be completed on what will be one of the largest murals in the United States was that of August César Sandino, symbol of the Nicaraguan revolution. Sandino led an army of Nicaraguans against U.S. marines occupying their country in the 1920s and '30s.

Shortly after the finishing touches were put on Sandino's image, Carlos Fonseca's portrait was painted on the mural. Fonseca was the founder of Central American Marxism and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Well-known Nicaraguan artist Arnaldo Guillén painted Sandino's likeness and worked with two other Nicaraguan artists, Bayardo Gámez and Balazar Gutiérrez, to put Fonseca's portrait on the wall of the Pathfinder Building in New York City. Gámez and Gutiérrez did the sketch for Fonseca. Following the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, Guillén painted a similar image of Fonseca that flanks the door of the National Palace in Managua.

The painting of the two revolutionary leaders has brought the six-story-high Pathfinder mural to life.

Work began in early October on this artistic promotional project for the Pathfinder publishing house. Guillén was the first of many artists from around the world who are coming to work on portraits of more than 20 revolutionary fighters to be featured on the mural. Pathfinder has published the writings of these figures, whose ideas are looked to by fighters for social change all over the world. International artists and other supporters of the mural will be touring the country, speaking about art and the revolutionary struggles in their countries.

Victor Mashabela of the African National Congress of South Africa has begun touring to promote the mural and Pathfinder books. Mashabela, who works at the ANC Observer Mission to the United Nations, spoke at a November 21 rally to celebrate the mural held at the Pathfinder bookstore in Manhattan.



Jean Zuman
Victor Mashabela of African National Congress (right, with Pathfinder director Steve Clark) is on tour promoting mural project, which will also depict ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Noting the recent massive invasion of Angola by the South African regime, he explained that advancing the revolution in Nicaragua and defending Angola's independence are part of the same struggle. The continuity of this struggle is portrayed in the revolutionary leaders depicted on the mural, he said.

Guillén, speaking at the same meeting, said it is necessary to answer U.S. government lies about the revolution in his country, including lies about lack of artistic

freedom. He stressed the important role books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder play in this. Guillén had just completed a month-long tour sponsored by Pathfinder, speaking in several cities.

Pathfinder director Steve Clark pointed to the title of the book of writings and speeches by Nelson Mandela, *The Struggle is My Life*, as a good description of what the revolutionary leaders who will be painted on the mural all have in common. They are supremely confident of working people's capacity to organize to struggle and change society, he explained.

Jean-Marie Tjibaou, leader of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front of New Caledonia, who was present at the meeting, was greeted by the 90 rally participants with a standing ovation. He is in New York to speak before the UN General Assembly urging national independence from French imperialism for the Pacific island colony of New Caledonia.

Brazilian composer Thiago de Mello, Irish artist Cathy Owens, and Irish-American muralist John O'Brien also attended. More than \$500 was collected toward a \$100,000 mural fundraising project.

The next day the Pathfinder Building opened its doors for people in the neighborhood to view the mural and learn firsthand about the project. The open house in Manhattan's Greenwich Village was attended by more than 80 people who talked to Guillén and project director Mike Alewitz. Among those who stopped by were Bob Himmel from the Save the Village Committee; a teacher from the School of Visual Arts who worked with the *New Masses* magazine in the 1930's; residents of Westbeth, a nearby center and residence for artists; and a group of Puerto Rican artists. The event was videotaped by students from New York University who are producing a documentary on the mural.

Later that afternoon Guillén addressed a reception attended by several dozen people at the Aljira Center for Contemporary Arts in Newark cosponsored by the center, the mural project, and City Without Walls art gallery. The mayor of Masaya, Nicaragua, on tour in New Jersey, also spoke.

Victor Mashabela's tour on behalf of the mural project will take him to the following cities this month: Morgantown, West Virginia, December 4 and 5; Greensboro, North Carolina, December 6-8; Atlanta, December 9-11; Cleveland, December 12-15, and Birmingham, Alabama, December 17-19.

To become a sponsor of the Pathfinder mural project, for more information, and to contribute financially, clip and mail the coupon below to the project at 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Australia meetings promote new Che book

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia — "Above all, Che was a teacher — always teaching by his own example." This is why Che Guevara, the Argentine-born leader of the Cuban revolution, was and still is such "a great inspiration to the younger generation."

These were the words of Mirta Muñiz, veteran Cuban revolutionary and a close collaborator with Che Guevara, who toured Australia and New Zealand in November. She was here to help promote the new book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, a collection of Che's speeches and writings published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

Muñiz was accompanied throughout the tour and the many associated meetings by David Deutschmann of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, who edited the book in collaboration with the Jose Martí Publishing

House in Havana, Cuba.

Muñiz's tour was jointly sponsored by the Cuba Friendship Societies and Pathfinder. Her two-week visit to five Australian cities, and to three cities in New Zealand the following week, added an extra dimension to kicking off sales and promotion of the book. This was because of the firsthand experience that Muñiz was able to offer about the life and ideas of Che, who was, as Deutschmann put it, "one of the great revolutionaries of the 20th century."

Muñiz met Che the first day of the victory of the Cuban people over the Batista dictatorship on Jan. 1, 1959. She had just helped lead the takeover of the central television and radio station, and Guevara was the first military commander of Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement to arrive in Havana.

Over the next few years, Muñiz was to

work closely with Guevara, especially in 1960 when she headed up propaganda work for the just-nationalized enterprises formerly owned by U.S. corporations. Later, when Che became Cuba's minister for industry, she worked closely with him as a member of the ministry's executive staff.

In the transformation of the Cuban economy, as elsewhere, Che led by example. "Che not only organized the voluntary work every Sunday, but he was always the first into the truck, ready to cut cane or do whatever work was needed," Muñiz said.

Guevara also played a role in deepening the internationalism of the Cuban revolution. When Che led in the formation of a broad organization of solidarity with Vietnam in Cuba, Muñiz became involved as well. (She was later to visit Vietnam in 1974.)

Muñiz today works as director of press and information for the National Assembly of People's Power, Cuba's elected governing body. As such, her tour to help publicize the book sparked considerable interest by the media here with interviews on national television, in some of the main daily newspapers, and on several radio programs.

The public meetings to launch the book drew more than 150 people in Sydney, almost 60 people in Brisbane, and more than 100 in Melbourne. At each of these meetings, as well as those in the industrial cities of Wollongong and New Castle, copies of the new Che book were sold to more than one-third of those present.

Participating on the broad platform to welcome Muñiz and to salute Che's inspiration were representatives of different organizations, including the African National Congress of South Africa (in Sydney and Melbourne), the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador in Sydney, and Labor Party parliamentarians in most centers.

The new Cuban consul general to Australia, Francisco Marchante, was present on the platform in Sydney and Melbourne.

In Brisbane, Wollongong, and New Castle, Muñiz met with key figures of the respective Trades and Labor Councils. While in Sydney and Melbourne she also met with trade union officials. Over parliamentary lunches, she also met a range of Australian Labor Party parliamentarians.

Perhaps the impact of Muñiz's visit was best summed up in Wollongong. She spoke of Che Guevara's life and ideas reflected in the book at a trade union reception. The new secretary of the South Coast Trades and Labor Council, Paul Matters, responded, that "Australia, as elsewhere, is on the verge of a very grave crisis, and in the course of the struggles to come, books — like this with the ideas of Che — will assume great importance for workers."

\$150,000 Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 13 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000.

Its purpose is to finance publication of the *Militant*, the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

As of December 3, \$164,589 has been pledged and \$148,225 collected.

I wish to help the fund, enclosed is:

— \$1,000 — \$500 — \$100
— \$25 — \$_____ other

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Address _____
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Mail to Fall Socialist Publications Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Area	Goal	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	3,300	3,560	3,330
Austin, Minn.	1,555	1,697	1,536
Baltimore	1,700	1,700	1,500
Birmingham	4,000	4,310	4,130
Boston	5,000	5,166	4,111
Charleston, W. Va.	2,875	2,957	1,927
Chicago	5,000	4,993	3,568
Cleveland	3,000	3,536	3,476
Detroit	2,000	4,425	3,390
Des Moines	2,000	2,199	2,169
Greensboro, N.C.	1,700	1,760	1,760
Houston	6,000	7,093	6,573
Kansas City	2,500	2,238	1,563
Los Angeles	15,000	15,092	14,992
Morgantown, W. Va.	2,000	1,985	1,860
Miami	3,000	3,033	3,003
Milwaukee	2,400	2,274	1,448
Newark	7,000	7,285	6,645
New York City	15,000	16,685	15,011
Oakland	8,000	8,657	8,357
Omaha	1,600	1,712	1,537
Pittsburgh	2,600	2,778	2,553
Philadelphia	5,500	5,760	4,510
Phoenix	1,500	1,843	1,553
Portland	2,300	2,205	1,905
Price, Utah	500	550	500
San Diego	2,500	2,698	2,513
Seattle	6,000	7,485	7,485
San Francisco	6,000	6,240	5,930
Salt Lake City	3,000	3,383	3,353
St. Louis	5,500	7,095	6,840
Twin Cities, Minn.	6,000	6,206	5,931
Washington, D.C.	7,000	6,905	6,210
Other		7,740	5,950
International		1,244	1,056

Totals 143,038 164,589 148,225

Meetings in Canada hit attacks on rights

BY JOHN STUDER
AND ART YOUNG

A victory in a recent fight against racist abuse and political exclusion at the hands of Canadian and U.S. immigration cops has inspired fighters for political rights and racial justice on both sides of the border.

On September 19, Canadian immigration agents stopped James Mac Warren at Montreal's Dorval International Airport.

They barred Warren, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a veteran Black rights activist, from entering Canada. He was held in custody for five and a half hours, and strip-searched. The immigration agents examined Warren's personal papers and publicly attempted to brand him as a dope smuggler.

U.S. customs agents at the airport participated in the abuse and conspired with Canadian authorities to detain Warren and victimize him.

Supporters of political rights and opponents of racism protested this discrimination. Attorneys representing Warren — Leonard Boudin in the United States and Stuart Russell in Canada — filed protests, demanding a full explanation of the violation of Warren's right to travel and the personal abuse administered by agents of both countries. Letters and telegrams from political and union activists followed.

As a result of this campaign, Warren has been able to enter Canada three times since his expulsion. Statements by a Canadian immigration spokesperson that there was some reason, which he could not publicly reveal, to bar Warren on the first visit were shown to be groundless.

The high point of this campaign was three meetings sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund held in Montreal, Toronto, and New York October 29-31. (See November 13 *Militant* for a report on the New York event.) A wide range of speakers protested the abuse of Warren and discussed how to unite to defend political rights.

The recent victory in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the U.S. government — which exposed FBI crimes and won a landmark court ruling that FBI spying, disruption, and blacklisting are unconstitutional — served as an example that it is possible to wage a successful public fight against government attacks.

Not an isolated incident

Recent revelations have exposed an elaborate espionage operation organized by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), the Canadian government's counterpart to the FBI. These revelations have exposed widespread CSIS use of provocateurs and police spies against the

unions as well as peace organizations, groups fighting environmental destruction, immigrant workers and political refugees, student associations, the Communist Party, and other groups.

The most well-known example is a case brought against four staff members of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) for allegedly plotting to use explosives in connection with a bitter struggle against the union-busting Manoir Richelieu hotel. CSIS agent Marc Boivin, sent undercover into the union as an agent provocateur, is now the government's star witness against the four.

Claudette Carboneau of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN spoke at the PRDF meeting in Quebec about the case. She attacked the CSIS claim that it wasn't spying on the union, but only looking for subversives. CSN leaders have answered that the only secret underground group in the labor federation was the police agents themselves.

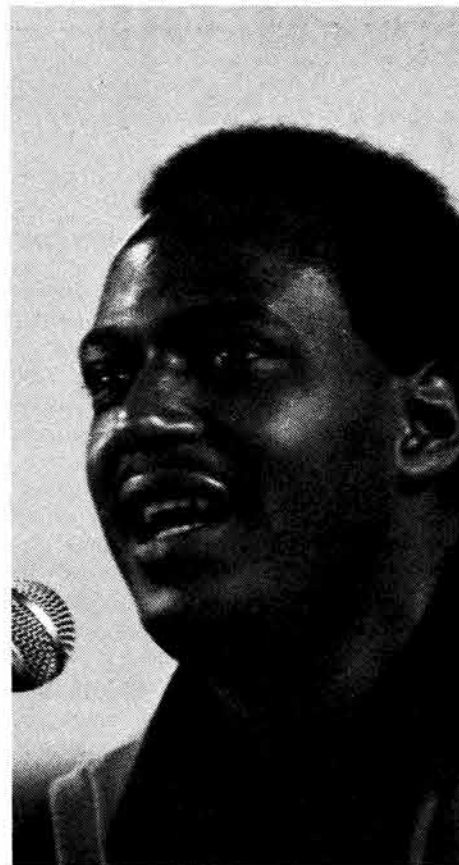
Other unionists joined Carboneau at the Canadian PRDF meeting in protesting secret police attacks on the unions and in supporting Warren's right to travel to Canada free from government abuse. These included Raymond Johnston, vice-president of the Quebec Teachers' Federation; Paul Heffernan, president of the Toronto local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers; Yves Dufour of Local 510 of the Canadian Auto Workers; Marie-José Toulouse, shop chair of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at Imperial Pants in Montreal; and Bob Braxton and Carol Glémaud, a garment worker and a Haitian machinist both fighting firings due to union and political activity on the job.

Step-up in racist harassment

Victimization of Black and Hispanic visitors and immigrants, such as the abuse of Warren, is increasing. This has been especially true following the adoption of a new immigration law, described at the Toronto meeting by Geraldine Sadoway, a member of the Law Union of Ontario, as "the most drastic immigration legislation we've seen in Canada since before World War II."

A group of students from Concordia University attended the Montreal meeting and reported that shortly after Warren was barred from Canada, Angela Davis also attempted to enter Canada at Dorval airport. Davis, a Black leader of the U.S. Communist Party, was coming to speak at their campus. She was detained and interrogated at the airport and allowed in only after agreeing to leave Canada within four days.

Later, a desk clerk attempted to deny her a room at the Hotel Maritime when she arrived accompanied by Lynn Calliste, co-coordinator of the Concordia Black



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Mac Warren, a leader of Socialist Workers Party, was harassed by immigration police and barred from Canada in September. After numerous protests forced Canadian officials to admit him, he spoke to broad meetings sponsored by Political Rights Defense Fund.

Women's Congress. She was finally given a room when the clerk was informed she was a guest of the college.

The *Afro Canadian*, a Black newspaper in Montreal, reported that a Black scholar invited to lecture in Montreal on the same weekend Mac Warren was detained, was also barred entry.

John Braithwaite of the Black Community Council of Quebec described the discrimination Montreal Blacks face in housing, employment, and immigration policy, and the police harassment they suffer. "The incident against Mac was a very good example of this kind of discrimination," he explained. "He was not refused because he is a socialist, but because he is a Black socialist."

Brian Wright McLeod of the Canadian Alliance in support of the Native Peoples told the Toronto meeting of the abuse suffered by Native people.

Other speakers described how the Canadian government uses political as well as racist grounds for its discriminatory immigration practices.

Víctor Regalado, a prominent refugee from El Salvador, addressed the Montreal meeting. Regalado lost a lengthy battle for political asylum in Canada and is currently under a deportation order for "national security" reasons. Because of the wide public knowledge and support for his fight to remain in Canada, he has not been deported.

Dave Humphreys of the Irish Freedom Association told the Toronto meeting of the authorities decision to bar Gerry Adams from Canada. Adams is the president of the revolutionary organization in Ireland, Sinn Féin, and is an elected member of the British Parliament representing West Belfast in Northern Ireland.

'Standard operating procedure'

In his talks to all three meetings, Warren began by describing how he was abused by Canadian and U.S. immigration officials on September 19. He pointed out that other U.S. socialists had arrived at Dorval the same day and had been allowed into the country. They were white. But like many other nonwhites, Warren was selected for further investigation. Only after going through his personal papers did the officials discover that he was a socialist leader.

"What they did to me was not a new policy," Warren explained. "It's what they do to people like me, of my color. It was standard operating procedure. It all starts with the racist nature of the immigration laws themselves. For them the political victimization was a bonus."

Warren explained that Canada is not the only country in the process of adopting

new restrictive immigration laws. "All the major imperialist powers are doing it: the United States, Britain, France, all of them," he said. "This is because the ruling classes in these countries fear the substantial changes taking place in the composition of the working class in their countries."

"One of the results of their bloodsucking of the oppressed countries around the world," Warren stated, "has been to drive people out of their native countries into the industrialized centers. The imperialist powers' exploitation of the world is creating refugees by the millions."

'Immigrants not docile'

"The reason they fear this process is that these immigrants are not docile," Warren continued. "They are victims of exploitation, the ones who are hurt the most, the ones who will fight the hardest once they get into the imperialist metropolises. They are political activists in the countries they come from and they will be political activists in the countries they move to."

This is what the capitalists fear. And this is why we are getting these new racist immigration laws."

Warren explained that as these immigrant workers are entering the work force of the imperialist powers, the working classes already inside these countries are facing attacks on their living and working conditions, which are awakening new interest in politics and struggle. "The rulers in the United States, Canada, and the other giants are driven to slash democratic rights and use their political police to attack workers — native as well as immigrant," he said. "And this opens the door to the greatest fear of the rulers — that these two forces will come together in defense of their mutual interests."

Warren thanked the audiences for what they had done in his case, dealing a blow to the racist policies of Canadian and U.S. authorities and reaffirming the right to travel. "This victory is a precedent for everyone," he concluded, "because it shows that we can come together and successfully defend the right to be politically active."

Dan Heap, a New Democratic Party member of Parliament and a strong critic of government immigration policy, told the Toronto meeting about the Canadian government's proposed new emergency measures bill. Heap explained that this bill would grant the authorities the power to declare an "emergency" and suspend civil liberties. It must be exposed and fought, he said.

Johanne Galipeau of the League for Rights and Civil Liberties, Quebec's main civil rights organization, described her group's support for Warren's fight. She announced that the league has decided to call together all interested organizations and individuals to coordinate action in defense of democratic rights.

Political Rights Defense Fund

John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, and John Steele, organizer of the PRDF meeting in Canada, addressed both Canadian gatherings.

They explained the importance of the victory over government spying in the Socialist Workers Party suit as a precedent in the fight for political rights in both Canada and the United States.

"The PRDF victory is a blow against the U.S. government's efforts to use its 'national security' laws to harass and victimize all those fighting against its anti-worker policies," Steele said.

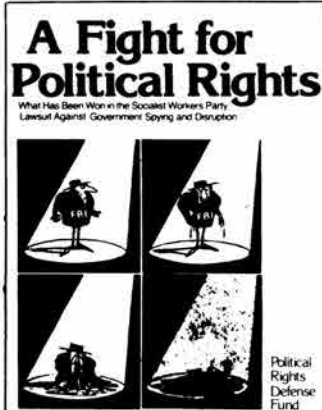
"The fight waged by PRDF shows that attacks on democratic rights can be beaten back. By defending each other, by applying the working-class motto 'an injury to one is an injury to all,' Steele told the Canadian audiences, "an effective struggle can be waged against these laws and police agencies."

In Canada, Warren's lawyer Stuart Russell, PRDF supporters, and other activists are continuing to press for all government files on Warren.

At the end of October, Leonard Boudin was informed by Samuel Banks of the U.S. Customs Service that the agency is now conducting an investigation into the conduct of the U.S. officials involved in the abuse of Warren and will provide a complete report on the results of the investigation.

Join the fight for democratic rights

Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights. Support the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.



DECISION:

Government spying and disruption are unconstitutional and illegal

Complete text of Judge Thomas Griesa's August 1986 decision in *Socialist Workers Party v. FBI* lawsuit, plus text of his injunction barring use of FBI files.

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Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, NY, NY 10003

Joining in work of a Cuban volunteer construction brigade

U.S. visitors see success of new movement

BY ELIZABETH STONE

HAVANA, Cuba — Traveling around this city today you see construction sites and buildings going up everywhere. This is the work of what Cubans call the microbrigade movement — a gigantic effort by tens of thousands of Cubans to build badly needed housing, child-care centers, clinics, hospitals, and other facilities.

Workers on the microbrigades are volunteers who leave their jobs on a temporary basis to work on construction projects. They continue to be paid at their regular workplace and coworkers fill in for them. Also other volunteers work without pay after their regular jobs — in the evenings or on weekends.

The goals of the microbrigade campaign are very ambitious. In Havana alone, during the two-year period 1987-88 they plan to build 100 child-care centers, 12,000 combination home-offices for the family doctor program, 10 health clinics, 28 bakeries, 3 swimming-pool complexes, 14 special schools, and more than 20,000 housing units.

Longer-term projections call for even more massive building, not only in Havana but throughout the country. The goal of the campaign is to do nothing less than eliminate by the year 2000 a number of the most pressing social problems facing Cuban working people. A slogan you often see hanging on buildings, especially at construction sites, is "Forward to the year 2000!"

I had a chance to catch some of the enthusiasm of the campaign when, along with other U.S. journalists, I spent a Saturday afternoon working on a microbrigade building a child-care center.

Our group of journalists were all women and we were in Cuba to find out about the situation of women there, so it was appropriate that the brigade we worked on was sponsored by Cuba's mass women's organization, the Federation of Cuban Women.

Beehive of activity

When we arrived at the site it was a beehive of activity, with many women, as well as men, pitching in. Two women greeted us, and before we knew it they had us sifting and shoveling sand for concrete. Both women were social workers who participated in the brigade on weekends and after work.

How had they learned their construction skills? "We learn everything right here," one said. "How to prepare cement, how to lay tiles, paint — all those things."

We were introduced to another volunteer, a sound technician for a radio station, who they claimed was now "the best cement mixer in Havana." Another man working with us, who was outdoing himself shoveling and hauling sand, turned out to be a veterinarian.

"Everyone works together here," one of the women explained. "We have old people and young men and women, workers, students, and housewives. We have one woman working who is 76 years old."

At break time we were called over to meet another woman who proudly explained that she was one of the 28 full-time *brigadistas* on the project. She had left her regular secretarial job and planned to work with the construction brigades for the next five years.

"Did she like this better than being a secretary?" we asked. "Yes," she said, "It's more active — much better than sitting at a desk." She added, "More important to me is that this is beautiful work, because I'm working with others to build things we need — like child-care centers and housing."

We were told that at this site, like many others, work is going on in shifts around the clock. Everyone is anxious to make the deadline they have set — 50 child-care centers, serving 10,000 children, by the end of the year.

Impact of brigades

Over 20,000 workers are part of the brigades in Havana, a figure expected to expand rapidly to 30,000. More than 3,000 of the volunteers are women.

Everyone is urged to pitch in regardless of what other responsibilities they have. On our visit to Cuba we met leaders of the Federation of Cuban Women, trade union leaders, people in government ministries, and even one of Cuba's leading poets, who said they were working on the brigades.

The movement is having an impact, not only on those who actually do the work, but in factories, offices, and other workplaces that are releasing people for the brigades. Most workplaces in Cuba are in fact overstaffed, leading to problems of low productivity, inefficiency, and low morale. The brigades provide an opportunity to deal with this, not by layoffs and unemployment as capitalism does, but by shifting workers to meet social needs. Workers are challenged to send the best, most responsible workers to the brigades and at the same time to try to make their workplaces more efficient.

One reason the brigades have evoked so



Militant/Elizabeth Stone

Havana child-care center. Tens of thousands of Cubans have joined revived "microbrigades" to help overcome shortage of daycare and other facilities. A rising social problem was created when the brigades were disbanded from the mid-1970s to 1986.

much enthusiasm is that they are a way for masses of Cubans to get involved in solving serious problems that have plagued the country for a long time. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction among Cubans with the construction industry, which has carried out its work at a snail's pace during the past decade and was continually leaving projects unfinished.

The housing crisis in Havana is severe. The city's population has doubled since 1959 and new housing has not come close to meeting the demand. Many older buildings in the city are badly in need of repair. Some have even collapsed, while the walls of others don't buckle only because they are shored up.

To overcome this problem, a massive housing repair campaign is projected, as well as the construction of 250,000 new housing units in Havana by 2000.

Another problem being confronted is the 62 neighborhoods that the Cubans have designated as "unhealthy." These are areas where newly arrived city residents have put up makeshift housing, that goes without benefit of city services. The plan is to tear down these neighborhoods and to form microbrigades made up of the residents of the areas to build new housing.

Already one such brigade has created a new neighborhood of 84 homes. "We'll solve this problem the same way we're solving others," Cuba's President Fidel Castro has explained, "with the same method of microbrigades and the masses."

Child care is another big need, due to a dramatic growth in the number of women working. In Havana women hold 44 percent of the jobs. Nationwide the percentage is 38.

There is a lot of pride in Cuba in the public child-care facilities built by the revolution, which are better quality and more numerous than in the United States. But after 1980, just when the need increased, new centers weren't built. Why? Those responsible said there weren't enough materials or labor. But, the real reason involved deeper problems, which the Cubans are now trying to correct.

Reliance on administrators

The problems began in the mid-1970s with the establishment of the New Economic Planning and Management System. As part of the reorganization, volunteer work and microbrigades for construction were phased out on the grounds that they were incompatible with the new system, which relied more and more on wage differentials and bonuses to encourage productivity and efficient use of resources. Political leadership and social consciousness were downgraded in importance. It became more accepted that any extra effort on the part of workers should only be done for pay. Big stress was placed on bonuses, which were paid to workers if they overfulfilled production quotas.

At many workplaces, production quotas were kept low so that bonuses would be artificially high.

As a result of these political and economic changes, collective action to solve pressing social problems such as housing and child care declined and people began to

try to find individual solutions to their problems. Facilities for child care and other services of use to the community as a whole simply didn't get built even if they were planned.

The wage gap and the differential in the real standard of living between the lowest-paid workers and those who earned more began to widen.

To combat these and other negative trends, a process called "rectification" was opened up in the spring of 1986 with the re-born microbrigades playing a central role.

The method of the microbrigade — mobilizing the masses of people to solve their problems — is now being counterposed to doing things through bureaucratic and administrative means.

In the workplaces, wage incentives such as bonuses continue to be used. But the bonuses are being adjusted to make them more fair, and the workers on the lowest end of the payscale are getting a raise. Most important, the brigades are being used to show that with collective effort and leadership, Cuba's immediate social needs can be met today and tomorrow — not in some distant future.

The microbrigades are also building more respect for physical labor and for workers who do manual labor.

Before the brigades began there was a shortage of construction workers in Havana because there is no structural unemployment in Cuba and most workers preferred other jobs. To take up the slack, workers were recruited from other parts of the country for construction in Havana, thus adding further to the housing shortage.

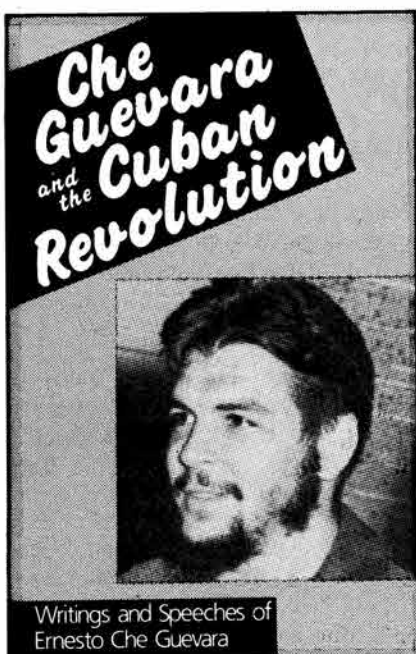
Now with the growing awareness of the importance of this effort, there is no labor shortage in construction. If anything, the organizers of the brigades are struggling to find enough construction materials to keep up with the number of volunteers.

This new attitude toward physical work is also spreading to other areas. The workers who are working in construction as their regular jobs are becoming inspired and working with more efficiency because they feel that they too can have an effect in solving big problems.

The microbrigade movement, and the broader rectification process, are also reestablishing what the revolution's goals and priorities should be. As one young leader of the Federation of Cuban Women explained to me, "When you stop building child care, when housing stops being a priority, when you stop building things people need, then you are in danger of losing all the revolution stands for."

Fidel Castro spoke along similar lines at the inauguration of the first child-care center completed by the microbrigades. He explained that it is precisely attitudes toward social needs, such as child care, that distinguishes capitalism from socialism. Pointing out that under capitalism 500 years passed in Cuba without the building of a single child care center, he said, "We don't want to return to any idea that child care is unimportant. . . . Now we have 100,000 children in child care centers in the whole country. We are going to raise that to 200,000, if this is necessary."

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Salvadoran rebel leaders return home

Zamora, Ungo announce new political alliance; speak at public rallies

BY HARRY RING

Utilizing the opening for democratic rights provided by the Guatemala peace accords, Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora, two exiled leaders of El Salvador's liberation movement, returned to their homeland. They immediately began addressing public rallies and moved to create a new three-party political alliance.

"We have to change the unjust structures of this society — so forward with the battle," Zamora declared at one rally.

Zamora and Ungo are leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the political coalition allied with El Salvador's armed insurgent force, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

They went back to El Salvador, without waiting for an invitation, on the basis of the Guatemala accords signed last August by the governments of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica. The pact provides that subscribing governments ensure the political rights of opposition forces.

Exiled

Zamora and Ungo had been forced to leave El Salvador in 1980 during a wave of assassinations by government-backed right-wing death squads. Both had been targeted, and Zamora's brother had been murdered. During their exile, they served as principal spokespeople for the liberation movement. The two have already received telephone death threats since they returned.

At a November 30 press conference in the capital city of San Salvador, Ungo and Zamora announced formation of the Democratic Convergence. This is an alliance of the National Revolutionary Movement, led by Ungo, the Popular Social Christian Movement, led by Zamora, and the Social Democratic Party.

A four-point program of the coalition was reported, including negotiating an end to the eight-year war, withdrawal of U.S. military "advisers," economic reform, and political democracy.

Ungo said the coalition has not yet decided if it will participate in the March 1988 elections slated by the government.

Ungo also said that he and Zamora had met with the U.S. ambassador in San Salvador.

"It was a respectful conversation where our differences were clearly defined," Ungo said. "The American dream is that we break with the Farabundo Martí Na-

tional Liberation Front, but they know they cannot dictate our alliances."

The return of Zamora and Ungo and their political initiatives pose a major new challenge for the beleaguered regime of El Salvador's U.S. sponsored president, José Napoleón Duarte.

Crisis-ridden regime

Despite continuing efforts, the 56,000-member army has been unable to defeat the forces of the FMLN. And the dramatic return of Zamora and Ungo testifies to the weakness of the regime on the political front. Its instability is reflected in some of its recent actions.

In a particularly scandalous move, the Duarte-controlled National Assembly voted an amnesty October 27 that ensures immunity from prosecution for the right-wing death squad members who murdered an estimated 40,000 Salvadorans.

The amnesty is also supposed to provide for the release of political prisoners. There are an estimated 1,000 of these, all but a handful of whom are real or alleged left-wing opponents of the regime.

According to an Amnesty International study last year, 90 percent of these have been in jail more than four years without a trial. Another study found that of 443 prisoners, all but two said they had been tortured, usually during their first few weeks of detention.

Killers to be freed

Among the right-wing butchers slated for freedom under the amnesty are the five National Guard members who raped and murdered four U.S. church women in 1980. The amnesty would also free two guardsmen doing time for gunning down two U.S. advisers to a government land pro-



Guillermo Ungo (left) and Rubén Zamora, exiled leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front on their return to El Salvador. In exile since 1980, these leaders have taken advantage of the Central America peace accords to return home and deepen political organizing against the U.S.-backed Duarte regime.

gram, along with the Salvadoran director of the program.

At the insistence of Catholic church officials, a last-minute change was made in the amnesty law to exclude those who murdered Archbishop Oscar Romero during a mass in 1980.

With that, Duarte discovered, after seven years, that the government had a witness to testify that the Romero murder was the work of Roberto D'Aubuisson, the ultrarightist who now sits in the National Assembly.

The witness reported that he had driven

the triggerman, Capt. Alvaro Saravia, to the church and later heard him discuss the execution with D'Aubuisson.

Saravia was taken into custody by U.S. marshalls at his Miami home, and the Salvadoran government said it was moving to have D'Aubuisson stripped of his legal immunity so he could be prosecuted.

D'Aubuisson responded by pointing to Col. Reynaldo López, a Duarte stalwart and former head of the notorious National Police, as a perpetrator of death-squad killings.

CIA campus appointment sparks protests

BY JEFFREY LEVINE

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. — The appointment of CIA official George Chritton to the University of California faculty here by Chancellor Barbara Uehling has sparked wide debate and protest.

The CIA, which is paying Chritton's salary, describes his role on the faculty as part of a program to "enhance CIA's recruiting efforts . . . and to respond to concerns stu-

dents may have about the agency."

There have been daily articles in the campus newspaper defending or opposing the appointment, and foes have organized several protest rallies.

On November 16 John Stockwell, the former head of the CIA task force on Angola who helped expose U.S. collaboration with the apartheid regime of South Africa against the Angolan people, spoke to 1,200 people on campus.

On November 5, just before Chritton's appointment was officially announced, more than 800 students and faculty protested in front of the administration building. About 150 students occupied the office of the chancellor and 38, including this reporter, were arrested.

In the news release announcing the appointment, Uehling declared, "The most important issue is freedom of speech and the capacity of a university to provide for the expression of a broad range of ideas."

Foes of the appointment state that no one is challenging Chritton's right to express

his views. Organizers of the protests have frequently invited him to present his side to rallies and meetings.

"Academic freedom and the Central Intelligence Agency are completely incompatible," explained one student leader. "A CIA agent is prohibited by law to provide certain information and can be required to give disinformation."

"If a student in one of Chritton's classes asks him about the role of the CIA in overthrowing the Guatemalan government in the 1950s, or the capture and murder of Che Guevara, or the ties between the CIA and the South African regime, his employer can and will require him to withhold information or lie."

A faculty member opposed to the appointment noted the CIA's record of sending agents to other countries under the cover of being academic researchers. He said the administration's open collaboration with the CIA will cast suspicion on University of California faculty members who do research abroad.

Antiwar youth groups in U.S. send greetings to Guatemala conference

NEW YORK — On November 30, 11 U.S. youth organizations sent a message of solidarity to the Conference of Central American Youth for Peace, meeting in Guatemala City, Guatemala, November 29–December 2.

The message said, in part, "We youth in the U.S. share the aims of your conference. We are in solidarity with the youth of Central America, and we pledge to work to demand that the U.S. government respect the sovereignty of the nations of Central America and comply with the Guatemala peace accords."

"Thousands of youth are traveling to Nicaragua on volunteer brigades in the spirit of Ben Linder."

"Across the U.S., students are organizing protests to demand that the CIA not be

allowed to recruit on their campuses and to pressure legislators to oppose contra aid."

The message was signed by: Phil Steinberg, Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section; Reginald Ramsey, Georgia Black Students Association; Chris Nisan, Marketplace Forum of St. Paul, Minnesota; Kim Paulus, National Student Action Center; Luis Eduardo Mendieta, National Student Convention '88 — Rutgers Host Planning Council; Anne Johnstone, Progressive Student Network; Brenda Davenport, Southern Christian Leadership Conference national student coordinator; Sarajeon Rossitto, Students Association of the State University of New York; Fred Azcarate, United States Students Association; Francisco Picado, Young Socialist Alliance; and Naomi Green, Youth for Life of Arizona.

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The December issue of PM features an article by Larry Seigle on the secret war the U.S. rulers have been carrying out against democratic rights working people in this country have won.

Seigle describes a 50-year domestic contra operation against unions, Black rights fighters, and communists.

The article gives a background to the lawsuit against police spying and sabotage launched by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in 1973.



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Opposition coalition is winner in elections in Suriname

BY NELS J'ANTHONY

Elections were held November 26 in the South American country of Suriname. According to unofficial and incomplete returns, a coalition of three opposition parties won 80 percent of the vote. As a result, it will receive at least 40 of the 51 seats in the National Assembly.

Most of the balance of the votes reportedly went to the National Democratic Party, led by Lt. Col. Dési Bouterse, who heads the government and to the recently established Surinamese Labor Party.

In September, as a U.S. trade unionist, I was invited to Suriname for a week by the Confederation of Civil Servants' Organizations, and was able to observe some of the initial election campaigning.

I attended several rallies of the Labor Party, which had been launched on July 1.

It was founded by the civil servants' confederation and a union federation of industrial workers known as C-47.

The elections were the first since Bouterse and a group of other noncommissioned officers won power in 1980.

Under a new constitution, approved by the voters in September, a national assembly was created whose newly elected members are to elect a president. Laws will be enacted not by the assembly but by a national council that remains to be established.

The winning electoral coalition indicated it did not anticipate creation of full civilian rule.

Suriname has been a leading producer of bauxite, an aluminum ore. Until 1975 it was a Dutch colony.

When the Bouterse forces came to

power, they nationalized several industries, including a Dutch-owned power company.

In 1982 the Dutch government put on the squeeze by halting \$100 million in annual aid that it had committed itself to provide until 1990. The \$100 million represents more than 10 percent of the gross national product in a country of 400,000 people.

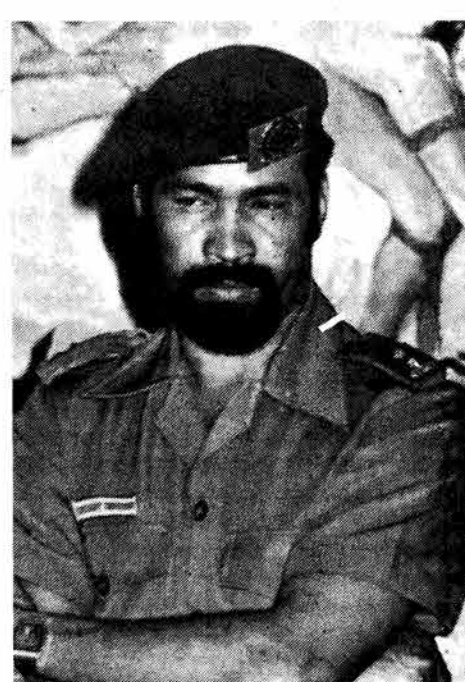
Washington has also cut off aid to Suriname and, in 1983, Reagan officials admitted a CIA plan to overthrow the Bouterse government. The United States is Suriname's biggest trade partner.

Also, the Dutch, French, and U.S. governments have given help to a right-wing military gang that has dealt blows to Suriname's economy. They have forced the shutdown of one of the largest bauxite mines and one of the country's two bauxite processing plants. The rightists also forced the abandonment of Suriname's three cooking oil processing plants. The rebels operate out of the neighboring French colony of Guyane.

When the Bouterse regime first came to power, union officials say they looked to it as a defender of the country against Dutch, U.S., and other foreign interests.

They say that in the seven years since, however, little progress has been made and harsh measures have been imposed.

There is a shortage of food, severe inflation, and increased unemployment. And there is continuing domination of the economy by such companies as Royal Dutch Shell and Alcoa, the U.S. aluminum processor.



Lt. Col. Dési Bouterse

The three parties that comprised the winning coalition in the election were established in the 1940's under Dutch colonial rule, and its top leadership includes politicians who were ousted in the 1980 overturn. The coalition is supported by those with wealth and property.

During my stay, I attended two Labor Party rallies in the capital city of Paramaribo and one to launch the party in the district of Saramacca. There, despite government and employer intimidation, 200 people turned out. In Paramaribo, the larger of the two rallies drew more than 300 people.

Nels J'Anthony was an oil worker in Louisiana and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union at the time he visited Suriname.

Cancel debt, urges Guyanese

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — Calling for cancellation of Guyana's debt, Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana and that country's former prime minister, spoke to a meeting held at Casa de las Americas here. The November 15 event was sponsored by the Committee for a Free Guyana and the Association of Concerned Guyanese-USA and was attended by 150 people.

Jagan said that Latin America was in a grave crisis highlighted by its huge foreign debt. Guyana, a West Indies country bordering on Venezuela, has a foreign debt of \$1.5 billion, making it among the highest in the world on a per capita basis, he said.

Jagan pointed out that workers' and farmers' income is steadily falling as well.

Between 1977 and 1986 real wages declined by 48 percent. At the same time, prices have skyrocketed. So far in 1987 the Guyanese dollar was devalued by 130 percent, raising the prices of imported goods.

The government of President Desmond Hoyte of the People's National Congress, Jagan pointed out, is putting Guyana in the hands of the International Monetary Fund. The People's Progressive Party, on the other hand, he said, calls for suspension of payments on the foreign debt and an increase in the minimum wage.

Citing massive rigging of past elections, Jagan called for measures to insure free and fair elections. This demand is being raised by the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy, a group of five opposition parties.

Protests target U.S.-run contra war

During November, protests demanding an end to the U.S. war against Nicaragua and calling for a halt to the contras took place in several cities.

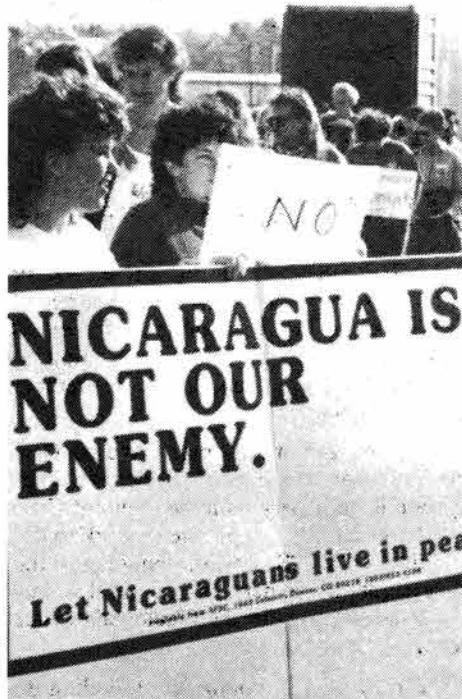
More than 1,000 participated in a Los Angeles demonstration November 7, which marched through the city's Central American community. Large numbers of college students participated, as well as contingents from Children of War, National Union of Salvadoran Workers Support Committee, Young Koreans United, and others.

On the same day 200 demonstrators took part in an antiwar demonstration in St. Louis. A highlight of the day was the announcement that a 40-foot cargo container filled with clothing, sports equipment, four tons of medicine, and an entire dentist's office would be shipped from St. Louis to Nicaragua in the coming week. The effort was organized by Missouri Quest for Peace.

In Seattle more than 500 marched on November 14 to demand U.S. compliance

with the Central American peace accords. The demonstration was organized by the Emergency Coalition Against Contra Aid, which includes more than 25 solidarity and antiwar organizations. Mira Brown, a co-worker of slain U.S. volunteer Ben Linder, spoke to the rally, along with congressman Michael Lowry and others.

In Boston, 80 people came to demonstrate against the scheduled appearance of Adolfo Calero, a top contra leader, at Boston University on November 24. Although he canceled out, the evening protest went ahead as planned. Candles lit up crosses bearing the names of Nicaraguan war victims, as demonstrators marched through the Boston University campus. Beverly Treumann, a prominent solidarity activist and director of the NICA school, spoke to the rally, along with a representative from the Pledge of Resistance.



Militant/Jim Garrison
St. Louis march November 7 against contra aid.

Sign up for a work brigade to Nicaragua

Two harvest brigades. Jan. 3-17; and Jan. 9-30. Contact Nicaragua Network, 2025 I St. NW., Suite 212, Washington, D.C. 20006. Telephone (202) 223-2328. Approximate cost, \$540 not including U.S. to Mexico City round trip.

Construction brigade to the Atlantic Coast region. Volunteers will go to the Atlantic Coast town of La Fe near Bluefields to build housing for the English-speaking Black community there. Participants will have opportunity to witness autonomy process of the coast peoples. Cost: approximately \$650. Scholarships available. For more information contact: ACLA, P.O. Box 4184, Atlanta, Ga. 30302. Tel: (404) 377-1079; or Witness for Peace, 222 E. Lake Dr., Decatur, Ga. 30030.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Senate committee votes to end aid to Panama

Following similar actions taken by the White House in July and the House Foreign Affairs Committee in October, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously November 19 to end all but humanitarian aid to Panama. The Senate measure also includes an embargo on sugar imports from Panama, as well as a proviso to allow the CIA to continue paying certain Panamanians in its employ in that country.

This is the latest move in the U.S.-inspired campaign to force the ouster of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, Panama's top military commander and de facto political leader. The U.S. frames its campaign as a call for a return to civilian rule. Earlier this year, U.S.-supported protests calling for Noriega's resignation were staged by a coalition of conservative forces in Panama, including the Chamber of Commerce.

The Panamanian government charges that the anti-Noriega campaign is an effort to undo the 1977 agreement with Washington to return control of the Panama Canal to Panama in 1999. The National Assembly voted November 24 to urge the start of talks to remove the United States Southern Command from Panama.

South African miners reject stock offer

On November 26 the Anglo American Corp. — the giant South African mining and industrial conglomerate whose holdings include DeBeers diamond group — announced a plan to offer shares of stock to its 250,000 employees, most of whom are Black. Included are 100,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers, the anti-apartheid union that represents Black miners. The stock will be held in trust for four years, after which the employees may do what they please with it. The stock's value is estimated at \$750 over five years — about three months' wages for a Black miner. Anglo American recorded after-tax profits of \$550 million in 1986.

Gavin Relly, the chairman of Anglo

American, said the offer will give workers a direct stake in the corporation. It constitutes, he said, an alternative to "centralist socialism on the one hand and rigorous capitalism on the other."

The National Union of Mineworkers immediate response was to reject the offer. "It stinks," said Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the NUM. Terming the offer political and economic blackmail, he said, "This initiative is an attempt to undermine the strength of the unions. They won't be tricked into a paltry share-ownership scheme."

Ramaphosa pointed out the role of Anglo American in rejecting the union's demands during the miners' strike earlier this fall. "They refused to grant the pay rises which could have ended the strike and now they are coming in through the back door and offering shares. What matters to the workers is not wealth in the future but wages now," he said.

Anti-Cuban terrorist to attempt return to U.S.

Orlando Bosch, the anti-Cuban terrorist assumed responsible for masterminding the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner, is planning to try to return to the United States, the *Miami Herald* reports. Among the 73 people who were killed in that crash, which took place off Barbados, was the Cuban fencing team. At the time, Cuban President Fidel Castro charged the CIA with also being directly involved.

Since 1976 Bosch has been in prison in Venezuela, where he and three others were tried for the terrorist bombing. Two remain in prison, serving 20-year sentences for the crime; one mysteriously escaped from prison; and Bosch has now been acquitted for the second time of actually planting the bomb. This paves the way for his return to Miami, which he fled in 1974 after serving several years in a U.S. prison for an attack on a Polish freighter in the Port of Miami. His flight constituted a parole violation, for which he faces possible arrest upon his return. While living in Miami, he made public calls for killing Cuban diplomats, invading Cuban embassies, and hijacking Cuban planes.

And the end is not yet — "The situation is a little confusing." — Contra honcho Alfonso Robelo.



Harry Ring

Don't hold your breath — Asserting that "illegal" strikes would not be tolerated, Philippine President Corazon Aquino told businessfolk, "Now there is order on the shop floors, and I hope soon a greater compassion and sense of justice in the hearts of management."

Creeping subversion — FBI snoopers who feel they're underpaid for working in New York are considering a sick-out.

The Eastern route — Miami-based Eastern Airlines proposes to lay off 3,000 workers and hire welfare recipients as reservation agents, with Florida subsidizing part of their wages. Meanwhile, we assume, the laid-off workers will be eligible for welfare.

The system that works — Capitalist competition insures a better product, right? Like Beechnut, which pleaded guilty to peddling phony apple juice for babies and accepted a \$2 million fine. The "100 percent apple juice" included beet, can, and corn

sweeteners and little, if any apple juice.

A swastika included? — "Antique Arms Arsenal" in North Carolina offers a fighting knife, assertedly widely used by U.S. marines and the Nicaraguan contras, for \$100, with 10 percent assertedly going to the contras. Includes "a certificate from the leadership of the Counter Revolution."

Not-to-worry line — To help harried small investors during the market dive, a securities association opened a hotline that was promptly flooded with calls. Plus, a spokesperson said, "We decided today to limit operators to four

hours because of emotional burn-out. Dealing with sometimes suicidal, depressed, morose, unhappy people is a draining experience."

A statement? — Folk in Tuxedo, New York, were irked by official inaction on a landfill they deem a health hazard. In the recent election, Town Justice Richard Barone, a part owner of the landfill, was again nominated by the Republicans, Democrats, and Conservatives. He was dumped by a write-in candidate.

A touch of class — "After all, people who spend \$55,000 for a car want to be noticed." — An auto industry analyst, noting that

Cadillac's '88 Allanté will be available in black and red, as well as white, silver, and gold.

Tough situation — College Republicans at Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton held a "Contra Month" series of talks on Nicaragua. "It was pretty dismal," the club leader said. So dismal that they may scratch the slated "Afghanistan Freedom-Fighters Month."

Don't be so touchy — "It confirms the general public's disdain for the Congress. It makes us look like a bunch of greedy insensitive jerks." Rep. James Slattery on the move by House members to sneak through a 3 percent raise for themselves as part of a deficit-reduction bill.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Celebrate the Publication of Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: Luis Flores, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Carlos Hernández, leader of the Watsonville cannery strike; David Deutschmann, editor of Che book. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. Media Art Gallery, 360 9th St. (btw. Harrison and Folsom). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder bookstores of San Francisco and Oakland. For more information call (415) 282-6255 or 420-1165.

FLORIDA

Miami

Behind the Prison Uprisings: the Cuba-U.S. Immigration Agreement. Speakers: to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

To Make a Revolution It Takes Revolutionaries. A Socialist Educational Conference.

"South Africa: The Coming Revolution." Sat., Dec. 12, 2 p.m.

"United States: the Wall Street Crash and the Decline of U.S. Capitalism." Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m.

"Cuba and Nicaragua: Workers and Farmers in Power." Sun., Dec. 12, 11 a.m. Speakers: regional leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Informal "Join the Young Socialist Alliance" discussions after classes. Translation to Spanish. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donations: \$2 per class or \$5 for conference. Sponsors: Chicago YSA and SWP. For more information call (312) 363-7322.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Cuba's Revolutionary Policy in Africa: The Fight Against South African Aggression in Angola. Speakers: G.I. Johnson, United Steelworkers of America District 8 Civil Rights Committee; Ken Morgan, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m.; dinner, 6 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Wall Street Crash — What It Means for Working People and Farmers. Speaker: Phil Norris, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 6, 6 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Minneapolis

Education, Commemoration, and Celebration of Namibian Women's Day. Educational-cultural program. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. People's Center, 2000 S 5th St. Sponsor: Namibian Women's Day Coalition. For more information call (612) 822-3670.

What's Behind U.S. Intervention in the Persian Gulf? Public forum and speak-out. Tue., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. University Lutheran Church of Hope, 6th St. SE and 13th Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. For more information (612) 827-5364.

St. Paul

Union-busting and Drug Testing: The Challenges Facing the Labor Movement. Speaker: Michael Maggi, director of Political Rights Defense Fund in Twin Cities and member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-662. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum.

Glasnost: Do Gorbachev's Reforms Mean Better Days Ahead for Soviet Working People? Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party and meat-packer member of United Food and Commercial Workers union. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Rally in Defense of Political Rights. Speakers: Dan Cobos, ex-U.S. Air Force sergeant who recently won conscientious objector status in protest of U.S. Nicaragua policy; Bill Hearndon, BLAC; John McFarland, president, United Steelworkers of America Local 8729; Bob Schwarz, Omaha Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Dec. 12, reception, 6 p.m.; program 7 p.m. Unitarian First Church, 3114 Harney. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

An Evening of Cuban Festivities. Cultural and

political program. Special invited guests include the Sechaba Singers of the African National Congress. Sat., Dec. 5. Program, 8:30 p.m.; dinner, 6 p.m. 317 W 125th St. Donation: \$15.00. Sponsor: Friends of the "Venceremos Brigade." For more information call (212) 349-6292.

Celebrate the Publication of Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: David Deutschmann, editor of book; Gus Newport, former mayor of Berkeley, Calif., and co-chair of U.S. Peace Council; Roger Green, N.Y. state assemblyman and chair of the N.Y. State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus; Sun., Dec. 6, 3 p.m. Mabel Dean Bacon High School Annex, 240 2nd Ave. (near 15th St.). Manhattan. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or 741-0690.

A Report on the Howard Beach Trial: Stop Racist Attacks. Speaker: Michael Baumann, Militant reporter at the Howard Beach trial. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Un Saludo Navideño. A Christmas Concert with Roy Brown. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Casa de las Americas. 104 W 14th (between 6th and 7th avenues). For more information call (212) 675-2584.

OREGON

Portland

"The Truth Must Not Just Be the Truth; It Must Also Be Told." Support the Socialist Publication Fund. Speakers: John Olmsted, coordinator, Ben Linder Construction Brigade; Ilona Gersh, Socialist Workers Party; Dave Worthington, Painters Union Local 724; Fred Auger, thesis student, Pacific Northwest College of Art. Sat., Dec. 5, 6 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Socialist Publications Fund. For more information call (503) 284-2067.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Educational Conference. "Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It." Two classes. Sat., Dec. 5, 3 p.m. and 4:30 p.m. Dinner at 6 p.m. Speakers: Judy Stranahan, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Karen Stockert, Young Socialist Alliance, member United Steelworkers of America.

"Speak Out Against the Aryan Nations."

Speakers: Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party; member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Bill Kelly, *Student Review* newspaper; Tom Price, member Students Against Apartheid at University of Utah; Brian St. Clair, member Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 5 7:30.

All events at 147 E 900 South. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$5 for conference. Sponsor: Militant Forum and YSA of Salt Lake City and Price. For more information call (801) 355-1124 (Salt Lake) or (801) 637-6294 (Price).

Celebrate A Victory for Democratic Rights. Speakers: Bill Arth, Political Rights Defense Fund; Nancy Jones, American Federation of Government Employees Local 2199; Andrew Hunt, editorial board of University of Utah *Daily Chronicle*; John Sillito, professor Weber State College. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Multipurpose Center, room 17, 1300 W 300 N. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (801) 363-5380.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

An Evening in Solidarity with the People of South Africa. Featured speaker: Victor Mashabela, member of the Youth Section of the African National Congress and member of Sechaba Singers, the ANC's cultural group; others to be announced. Sat., Dec. 5. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

INDIANA: Muncie: YSA, c/o Maurice Scott Peret, 1125 W. Marsh St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 282-2996.

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: YSA, P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA,

4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

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Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip: 16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Cuba, U.S. renew immigration accord

Continued from front page

most of those who want to leave.

In the initial years of the revolution, Washington did everything it could to encourage all those who wished to leave Cuba to come to the United States, including many professionals. When the U.S. door was shut in 1962, thousands of those who had come faced separation from their families, who had expected to follow.

In 1965 Cuba opened the port of Mariel for those wanting to leave, compelling Washington to again accept Cuban émigrés.

But in 1973 new U.S. immigration restrictions reduced this to a trickle.

In 1980 Cuba opened the port of Mariel, near Havana, for anyone who wanted to go. This was done in response to ongoing U.S. provocations.

Washington, and several Latin American regimes complicit with it, had been making it a policy not to grant visas to Cubans who tried to leave legally. But they readily granted "political asylum" to those who left illegally — by crashing into embassies, hijacking boats, etc.

When Mariel was opened, Cubans in Florida organized a boatlift, and an estimated 125,000 Cubans came to the United States.

Initially, the administration of President James Carter declared it welcomed the Mariel immigrants with open arms. But when the number turned out to be far more than expected, the U.S. government abruptly declared such immigration illegal and began seizing boats participating in the lift.

The immigrants were thrown into virtual concentration camps and processed at a snail's pace as authorities claimed to be weeding out mental patients, spies, and criminals.

The big-business media repeats the slander that among the Cubans who came to the United States via Mariel were thousands of dangerous criminals and mentally ill people released from Cuban prisons and hospitals. This is the justification U.S. authorities cite for the wholesale jailing and deportation of Cuban immigrants.

Answering these charges, Castro explained in 1984 that Cubans "feel too much respect for patients" to do such a thing. And, he affirmed, "no one guilty of blood crimes left via Mariel."

It's not surprising that there are thousands of people in Cuba who are attracted to the United States, the richest country in the world.

However, the young people who have come over, who have never lived in a capitalist society, are often sorely disappointed. They find that not only aren't the streets of Miami paved with gold, but that medical care and education cost money; that jobs and decent housing are scarce; and that racism against people with dark skins who speak Spanish is rampant.

Many people leaving Cuba want to get out from under the pressures associated with being in the front lines of the world fight for national liberation and socialism.

But 99 percent of Cuba's 10 million

Grenadian fighters plan convention

Continued from back page

nada," Rojas said.

Invitations to the March 13, 1988, London conference on "The Grenada Revolution: Beacon of Anti-Imperialist Struggle in the Caribbean" have gone out to individuals and organizations around the world. The invitation is signed by Peter David for the New Jewel Movement Support Group of the United Kingdom, Rojas said.

According to Rojas, Peter David was head of Radio Free Grenada during the last year of the revolution. In October 1983, Rojas said, David supervised Coard's propaganda attempting to justify the murderous coup by spreading lies and slanders against Maurice Bishop.

The aim of Coard's supporters in calling the London gathering, Rojas said, is "to seek international recognition and hope-fully exonerate themselves in the eyes of revolutionists around the world."

"I'm convinced they will fail to achieve those objectives."



Miami demonstration against U.S. propaganda station "Radio Martí." Protesters saw Washington's broadcasts as obstacle to U.S.-Cuba immigration agreement.

people opt to stay, despite the hardships associated with the struggle to build socialism right on the doorstep of the biggest military power in the world, which has carried out an unrelenting campaign of military, economic, and political hostility toward the Cuban revolution since its inception.

No rights, no freedom

More than 7,600 Marielitos, as those who came over in 1980 are called, are imprisoned in the United States. Almost half of them are people who have already served sentences for crimes committed in

the United States.

The courts have ruled they have no constitutional rights. Their alternatives are deportation or imprisonment for life. Those in Atlanta are incarcerated in one of the worst federal prisons in the country. In fact, it was in such disrepair that it was ordered to be closed by the fall of 1984, but the Justice Department decided to use it for the Cubans.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service announced in October that it was reviewing the cases of the imprisoned Cubans with an eye toward releasing thousands. This raised the expectations of

prisoners, many of whom have been in jail for several years.

When Washington then turned around and announced it was going to deport more than 2,000 of them, rebellions broke out in the two main prisons where Cuban immigrants are held.

In response to the prisoners taking of hostages and burning down substantial parts of the prisons, the Reagan administration has indicated it might ease its deportation plans somewhat. But nothing concrete has been announced to date.

Spokespeople for the prisoners claim that they will be imprisoned or worse if they are returned to Cuba. However, Ramon Sanchez, chief of the Cuban interests section in Washington, D.C., has assured that those deported "will be exonerated from illegal activities they might have committed before their departure from Cuba."

He further noted that the couple hundred Cubans who were deported during the few months the agreement was in effect in 1984-85 have been well treated and reintegrated into Cuban society. "If you want to go there and talk with them, you are welcome," he told reporters.

The reactionary view of the Cuban detainees, which lies behind their treatment in this country, was articulated by Republican presidential candidate and former secretary of state Alexander Haig.

He told *Wall Street Journal* reporters on November 25 that if it were up to him, as soon as the Cubans got here he would have "put them all in straitjackets and helicoptered them late at night down to a port in Miami and escorted them back in an old scow with the Atlantic fleet, telling Mr. (Fidel) Castro 'We're returning your illegal entries, and if you take any action it's an act of war.'"

A 'peace-keeping' force won't aid Haiti

Continued from front page

council turned a blind eye to the violence and refused protection for the candidates and for those organizing the elections. One presidential hopeful, Yves Volle, was killed in full view of reporters on October 13.

On the day of the elections, witnesses reported that government soldiers joined pro-Duvalier gunmen in carrying out a series of murderous assaults that resulted in more than 34 deaths and at least 75 people seriously wounded. Some of them were hacked to death with machetes. Voting stations, churches, and radio stations were attacked with submachine guns, hand grenades, and fires. Radio Soleil, the Catholic radio station that helped organize protests against Duvalier and the Namphy regime, had its transmitter destroyed.

Charging that the electoral council had "imperiled the unity of the nation," Namphy called off the elections and disbanded the council. The electoral body had been established as a result of a March referendum approving a new constitution for Haiti.

Haitian people force elections

Haiti's government has faced massive popular opposition since assuming power following Duvalier's ouster. Known by its Creole initials KNG, the National Council of Government is headed by military officers who served Duvalier loyally. Namphy and another junta member were top officers in Duvalier's army.

The popular uprising that forced Duvalier from power also pressured the new government to take measures distancing itself from some of the most hated features of the Duvalier regime. These included formally dissolving the Tontons Macoutes, allowing the drafting of a new constitution, and scheduling elections. The elections were to begin the transition to a civilian government, starting with the election of a new president.

Workers, peasants, students, and women began organizing, taking advantage of the openings won by forcing Duvalier from power. At every stage, however, they have had to battle the Namphy government, which has allowed pro-Duvalier elements to continue acting with impunity, including

murdering peasant demonstrators.

During the summer, Namphy dissolved the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers — one of four union federations in Haiti — and jailed its leaders. It also moved to take control of the upcoming elections from the constitutionally mandated civilian electoral council.

These acts were met with a massive wave of strikes and protests demanding the junta's resignation, beginning in late June and lasting for several weeks. Workers also demanded a series of elementary economic measures — such as reopening all factories and raising the minimum wage.

Although the army murdered a number of protesters, the Haitian people forced the government to back down, rescinding its dissolution of the union and reversing its

decision to take control of the elections.

As the November 29 elections neared and the determination of the people to see them through became clear, the pro-Duvalier forces organized a series of violent attacks designed to force them to be canceled. The assaults on election day provided Namphy — whose tacit approval, if not direct involvement, had allowed the violence to escalate — with the excuse he needed to call off the elections.

The danger now is that the U.S. government — which showed little concern for the democratic aspirations of the Haitian people during the 30-year reign of the Duvalier dynasty — will use these developments to justify a military intervention, under the guise of supervising democratic elections.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Dec. 9, 1977

On November 28 the racist regime in Rhodesia announced that its troops had killed 1,200 people in two raids into neighboring Mozambique.

A November 28 dispatch in the *London Observer* reported on what reporters who went to the site right after one of the Rhodesian raids saw. According to the *Observer*, "most of the victims whose bodies could be seen at the camp were women and children...."

"At the camp the reporters visited, a mass grave had been bulldozed for the bodies of 20 girls apparently between the ages of 10 and 14. They had reportedly been sitting in their classroom when the Rhodesians attacked."

Carter's administration reacted mildly to the slaughter, expressing concern over the challenge to Mozambique's "territorial integrity."

Twelve hundred people massacred, and Washington expresses "concern"! Real indignation from the hypocrite in the White House is reserved for issues such as the Cuban aid program in Africa.

THE MILITANT

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Recently a short novel was published in the USSR describing life in a Stalin concentration camp. The past weeks have seen a rash of anti-Stalin poems in the Soviet press such as Yevgeny Yevtushenko's *Stalin's Heirs*.

A further stage in the thaw in Soviet arts, which has been going on more or less steadily since Stalin's death, seemed to have been reached. Abstract painters, 12-tone composers, avant-garde literary stylists — most of them young people — began taking their works out into public view.

Then suddenly last week the news from Moscow told of Premier Nikita Khrushchev's boorish attack on some works of abstract art currently on exhibition there and *Pravda* printed an editorial denouncing avant-garde cultural trends, following through with two articles on the same theme and a cartoon of a donkey splashing paint on a canvas with its tail.

Imperialist wars on the rise

"America today is at peace," asserted President Ronald Reagan in his November 28 weekly radio address. But nothing could be further from the truth.

Washington and its allies are, in fact, increasing their use of military force against the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. And as the international economic and social crisis of the capitalist system worsens, this trend will deepen.

Reagan's statement came in the wake of the November 24 announcement by the U.S. and Soviet governments that they have agreed on a bilateral treaty banning medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles.

Any steps by Washington and Moscow to limit the production, deployment, and testing of nuclear weapons will, of course, be welcomed by working people everywhere.

But these negotiations over nuclear weapons are occurring in the context of a world where imperialist wars — not peace — are more and more the order of the day.

• South Africa occupies pride of place in imperialism's aggression, engaging in direct military assaults that would be politically difficult for Washington or other imperialist powers to get away with.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the South African government is carrying out one of the bloodiest invasions to date in its 12-year-old war against Angola.

And for the first time, the South African regime has openly admitted that it is involved in this war on the side of the antigovernment armed bands known as the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Washington has backed South African aggression against Angola ever since the country won its freedom from Portuguese colonialism in 1975.

• The neighboring country of Mozambique is also under an unrelenting siege from the right-wing bands of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo). A creature of the South African government, Renamo has helped devastate undeveloped Mozambique. In the past six weeks alone, 373 people have been killed in attacks by Renamo.

• Since early 1986, French troops have been stationed in the former colony of Chad, fighting against Libyan-supported rebel forces. At the beginning of this year, they were joined by U.S. military personnel, and Washington kicked in \$15 million in emergency military aid.

On November 5 the White House announced it had agreed to supply the Chadian regime with hand-held Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

• In the Persian Gulf, Washington has assembled the largest armada since World War II. Dozens of U.S. warships and 15,000 military personnel patrol the area. To date, there have been six incidents of armed clashes between U.S. and Iranian forces.

Washington has been able to get the backing of its allies in West Germany, Britain, Italy, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands for its war on the Iranian people.

The recent decision of the Arab League to condemn Iran and to back Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war has given Washington a boost in its imperial aggression in the region.

• In Afghanistan, Washington has given well over a billion dollars to the reactionary armed bands that are fighting to overturn the Afghani government.

London has also supplied ground-to-air missiles to rebel forces in Afghanistan.

• In Kampuchea, a coalition of pro-capitalist groups based in Thailand — including the Khmer Rouge, which is responsible for the death of millions of Kampuchians — is waging a war against the people of Kampuchea. The money and political support for this war, too, comes from Capitol Hill.

• In the Pacific, French troops are used with impunity to suppress independence struggles by the island peoples

colonized by Paris.

In New Caledonia, a 10,000-strong French police and army presence is used to brutally suppress and intimidate the native Kanak people.

And in October, hundreds of French troops were sent to Tahiti after French riot police attacked striking water-side workers.

• In El Salvador, where a civil war rages, Washington has provided the government \$3 billion in the past seven years, along with military training and U.S. military personnel.

U.S. money goes into massive bombing of the civilian populations in rebel-controlled areas.

• Washington has raised the idea of military intervention into Haiti under the guise of a "peace-keeping" force with other governments in the region. Such a mission, far from safeguarding peace and democracy, would be designed to repress and intimidate the only social forces that really can bring peace and social justice to Haiti — the workers and peasants.

The place where Washington has suffered a serious setback to its military drive is in Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan workers and farmers, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, have been able to decisively defeat the U.S.-run contras in the battlefield. This is what led to the Guatemala accords.

But the contra war has not ended. In fact, the Reagan administration is asking Congress for \$30 million more for the terrorist contra bands that have murdered, tortured, raped, and kidnapped thousands of Nicaraguans in the past six years.

Even as the contra war falters, however, Washington is carrying out a sustained campaign, day in and day out, targeting Nicaragua as the cause of war in the region and demanding it make the maximum amount of political concessions to prove that it is really complying with the Guatemala accords.

And Washington has put pressure on its imperialist allies to put the squeeze on Nicaragua as well. West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands have all suspended or sharply reduced bilateral economic aid to Managua.

What this all adds up to is an uneven but steady escalation by the imperialist ruling classes to settle its problems by force of arms.

While Washington's defeat in the war in Indochina in 1975 underlined the weakening of imperialism, the U.S. ruling class is fighting to reestablish its ability to use its troops abroad. And it has made headway.

Many of these wars, which were once covert CIA operations, are now openly backed and publicly justified by Washington and its allies.

And they carry a real danger of escalation, like the massive U.S. military commitment in the Persian Gulf.

The Democratic Party liberals support this gunboat diplomacy — in some cases with criticism. And despite universal verbal opposition to apartheid in South Africa, the international silence in the face of South Africa's invasion of Angola and the Angolan government's call for solidarity is ominous.

There is mounting pressure on those who support the Kanaks in New Caledonia, the African National Congress of South Africa, the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Iran, the governments of Cuba and Nicaragua, to retreat, to back off.

In the face of that pressure, workers, farmers, and all supporters of peace and justice in the imperialist countries must make the fight against intervention a key part of their program to defend themselves from the employing classes' drive toward austerity, war, and totalitarian rule.

New blow to U.S. anti-Cuba drive

In a serious blow to Washington's never-ending effort to isolate Cuba and read it out of Latin America, the recent meeting of presidents of eight Latin American countries agreed that Cuba should be invited to rejoin regional organizations from which it was expelled in the 1960s.

"There is a consensus among the presidents that we ought to struggle for the total integration of Cuba into the inter-American system," said José Sarney, president of Brazil.

The other countries represented at the conference were: Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. It was the first Latin American summit meeting ever held without U.S. government participation.

Sarney also said that Cuba's presence in such regional organizations was "indispensable" to their normal functioning.

Cuba was expelled from the Organization of American States in 1962 following pressure by Washington on the other countries in the hemisphere. Cuba is also not a member of the Inter-American Development Bank and the Latin American Association for Development and Integration.

The U.S. government is a bitter foe of the 1959 Cuban

revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and started the process of building a socialist society, prioritizing the needs of Cuba's workers and peasants.

Washington feared that other Latin American peoples, inspired by revolutionary Cuba's accomplishments, might also rise up against imperialist domination. So the U.S. rulers have sought to make Cuba a pariah in the hemisphere, claiming it isn't really a Latin American country but rather a member of the "Soviet bloc."

Mexico was the only Latin American country that maintained normal diplomatic and commercial ties with Havana.

But in recent years, many other countries in the region have moved to restore diplomatic and trade relations with the Cuban government.

The presidents' meeting, which was held in Acapulco, Mexico, was called to discuss the enormous foreign debt burden facing Latin America and the wars raging in Central America. Cuba's president, Fidel Castro, has been the leading voice internationally of the fight to cancel Latin America's debt and forge a new, equitable world economic order, as well as of the struggle against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Ruling rich see homeless as pests, not human beings

BY DOUG JENNESS

A few weeks ago Joyce Brown was picked up by city authorities in New York on a sidewalk in front of a hot-air vent that had been her home for nearly a year. She was taken from the posh upper east side area of Manhattan to the psychiatric ward of Bellevue Hospital.

Brown went to court to fight for her release on the grounds that she is not mentally ill, and a state judge ruled in her favor. But the city has appealed, and she remains confined in the hospital.

Brown was the first homeless person to be removed from the streets under Mayor Edward Koch's recent dictate that homeless people deemed to be mentally ill should be rounded up.

Brown's case highlights the extent to which the number of homeless people is mounting and becoming

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

more visible in cities across the country, including in many small towns in rural areas.

None of the statistics takers seem to know exactly how many homeless there are; some federal government estimates the figure as high as 2 million.

But one thing is certain, the number has reached the point where the homeless can't be hidden from public view. And it's the appearance of homeless and panhandlers in the better-off neighborhoods and in many public places that is annoying the wealthy. They see the men, women, and children without homes, sleeping in the doorways, parks, and sidewalks in their part of town as a nuisance. They want to be free from the unseemly sight and smells of the homeless. It irritates their snobbish sensibilities.

As a recent *New York Times* headline put it, "A First Look at Homeless is Raw Sight for Tourists." The article complained that as visitors, many of them from New York City's suburbs, march through Grand Central Terminal or the Port Authority bus station, headed for Macy's, the South Street Seaport or a Broadway matinee they must "pass the homeless men numbed by Thunderbird who snore under newsprint blankets and the ragged women. . . ."

Recently, the *Times* reporter grumbles, "transportation hubs have become unofficial barracks for the homeless."

The wealthy are pressuring government officials to get this annoyance out of their communities, and out of their sight.

Koch's order to pick up the "mentally ill" is a pretext to help accomplish that.

Some cities are trying other methods. In Seattle, a new city ordinance against "aggressive" panhandling has just gone into effect.

Last year in Santa Barbara, California, a ban on sleeping in public places was dropped only after big protests.

In Washington, D.C., a fence was set up to keep the homeless from sleeping in the subway stations.

In some cities, homeless persons picked up for being "mentally ill" are given bus tickets to other cities.

In scores of cities and towns across the country, shelters have been set up. These, too, are primarily designed to keep the homeless out of the way than provide any serious relief. Besides being totally inadequate to cope with the growing numbers of homeless, the conditions in most of them are abominable.

In addition to the shelter system, New York City pays rent to the owners of 62 hotels who put up more than 32,000 families. These run-down welfare hotels are notorious for their crowded quarters and dangerous health and safety conditions.

The growing number of homeless is part of the growing pauperization of millions of working people — in the cities and the countryside. While the economic upturn of the past few years has meant prosperity for the employers and many professional people, as well as upper layers of the working class, conditions have been devastating for the unemployed, those driven off their farms, and the lower-paid sections of the population. This has been paralleled by an attack on unemployment benefits, job training, food stamps, and other transfers of funds and aid to those in need.

The credo of the government increasingly is that the poor have the right to exist — but not as human beings. Rather, they are seen as pests to be kept in check.

This situation is reminiscent of the Poor Laws adopted in Britain in the last century that abolished all relief in money and provisions. The only aid allowed was admission to workhouses, where the conditions were genuinely barbaric.

As the social crisis deepens in this country, we can see that more and more this is the stance of the ruling rich.

Chicago teachers' union strike ends in standoff

BY BRENDA BRDAR

The record-long, 19-day strike of the Chicago Teachers Union ended in a standoff on October 5.

The union had been up against all the local governmental bodies. This included the Illinois state legislature; the Chicago Board of Education; the office of the now deceased Democratic mayor, Harold Washington; and the aldermanic (city) council. Moreover, Jesse

UNION TALK

Jackson's organization, Operation PUSH, did not support the teachers.

The strike was a test for the union; and a probe by the local ruling bodies to see what they could get away with in weakening the union.

The stage for this struggle was set last spring, when the state legislature refused to allocate the funds necessary to grant teachers and other school employees a small pay raise.

The strike began when the Board of Education insisted that no money was available for pay increases. In fact, a 2 percent cut in pay was proposed, based on cutting three days from the school year.

The union's original demands were for a 10 percent increase the first year, 5 percent the second year, and a reduction in class size.

The strike involved 29,000 teachers and 13,000 other school employees. It affected approximately 400,000 students and their families. The fact that the other school employee unions stuck with the teachers was significant. This has not always been the case in past teachers' strikes.

The schools were closed by the strike and only 1 to 2 percent of teachers crossed the picket lines to report to "work" at district offices. Attempts by the board to turn parents against the teachers met with very limited success.

As the days dragged on, the Board of Education hoped that the strike would lose support from teachers. Instead, parent mobilizations and pressure on the board increased. Although most of these demonstrations did not raise clear demands in support of the teachers — "open the schools" was often demanded — their targets were the Board of Education, the mayor's office, and the state of Illinois building, not the teachers' union.

The board was finally forced to propose a pay raise of 4 percent the first year, 4 percent the second year (this is contingent upon more funds being allocated next year), and a small reduction in some class sizes. The board maintained, however, that the pay raise could only come from teacher layoffs. The Chicago Teachers Union held the position that the funds for pay raises could come from other sources in the school budget.

Teacher confidence and dissatisfaction with this settlement was voiced through a large no-vote on the contract. After having been out for 19 days, many felt that not enough was won, and that the lay-off threat was too real.

Nine thousand of the 22,000 teachers who voted, voted against the contract. And this took place two weeks after teachers returned to work.

Due to continued pressure on the board following the strike, its original threat to lay teachers off and shut down the magnet schools was dropped.

Judging by a local televised news speak-out, the teachers continue to have the support of most working people in Chicago. Six of seven persons interviewed on

the street, voiced their support for Chicago teacher pay raises, and explained their reasons.

The fact that the teachers went back to work as a solid unit, after putting up a fight and winning some small concessions, shows that the local powers-that-be were not successful in beating back the union, or defeating it.

While this round in the fight for decent education is over, the fundamental issues in the strike were not resolved. Questions such as how public education, including teachers' salaries, should be paid for, and how the quality of education can be improved significantly, were not really addressed, let alone solved.

It will take other battles and the development of a massive social struggle to answer such questions.

But one demand pushed by the teachers' union and frequently seen on picket signs — "Chop the top" — points in the wrong direction. "Chop the top" refers to cutting personnel who do not directly work with the students, as well as some programs. While there is, no doubt, waste at the top (as is the case with most other institutions in capitalist society), this demand serves to divide the public education work force, and pit worker against worker.

Most importantly, this demand accepts the idea of cuts in the first place. The teachers' union was advocating "chopping the top" to pay for teachers' raises. So the framework of fighting over a limited "pie" was accepted.

Instead, the union should have demanded: "No cuts in the education budget. More funds are needed, not less!"

Placing the struggle in this broader context will be necessary to develop a winning strategy for the upcoming battles to improve education.

Brenda Brdar is a member of the Chicago Teachers Union, American Federation of Teachers, Local 1.

LETTERS

Canadian paperworkers

I've been especially interested in your coverage of the paper industry strikes. I'm in the Canadian Paperworkers Union here, working at Island Paper Mills.

We face similar demands when our collective agreement expires in six months. So far, no pulp and paper employer here in British Columbia has tried to run with scabs. However, a new mill is being built in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, by none other than the same construction company scabbing the strikers there.

Bill Burgess
Vancouver, Canada

Depression cake

Recent boxes of Sun-Maid raisins have featured a recipe under the heading "A Taste of the Past." The recipe is for Great Depression cake. The introduction reads, "Take away the milk, the eggs, and the butter, and what do you have left? A great tasting cake that became popular after the stock market crash of 1929."

Past is prologue?
A reader
Stamford, Connecticut

Tibet

Could you write an article on Tibet? I heard foreign correspondents were expelled and no word since. I would appreciate your analysis of the Tibet-China relationship and current happenings. My impression is that it was a colonialist takeover in the 1950s and not popular with the Tibetan masses.

Gail McDonald
Salt Lake City, Utah

Editor replies:

In the October 23 issue of the *Militant* we carried an article entitled "Behind Tibet independence protests."

PLO offices

At its annual policy conference in May 1987, the powerful Zionist lobby, American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), listed the closing of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., and the UN office in New York as its top priority. Consequently, legislation drafted by the American Jewish Congress

and promoted by AIPAC culminated in anti-terrorism bills — i.e. anti-PLO bills, introduced in both houses of Congress.

While the sponsors claim that this legislation will combat terrorism, to date there have been no allegations of criminal activity by any staff member in the PLO offices. And, according to the U.S. State and Justice departments, the PLO is a duly registered entity under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, complying with all relevant U.S. laws. Therefore, the PLO is entitled to the right of individual, organizational, and institutional political expression. The First Amendment guarantees this right.

However, this pending legislation, now cleverly disguised as a Senate amendment to the State Department authorization bill and touted as the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987, is legislation that would ultimately negate PLO participation in the Middle East peace talks.

Kenneth Crouch
Decatur, Illinois

Can't do without

This is my third renewal of the *Militant*. I wouldn't be without it.

Recent coverage of Cuba, China, and the Soviet Union has been excellent. As usual, the *Militant* perspective is clear, open-minded, and accurate.

G.F.
Billerica, Massachusetts

Gorbachev's speech

Significantly, Mikhail Gorbachev's November 2 speech admits that a departure from V.I. Lenin's policy toward the peasantry occurred when the worker-peasant alliance was ruptured in the late 1920s by forced collectivization.

Writing in the mid-1930s, Leon Trotsky noted that the great dangers this adventurous policy had posed to the workers' republic. "In those years of economic chaos and civil war in the village," he wrote, "the Soviet Union was essentially paralyzed in the face of a foreign enemy. The discontent of the peasantry swept through the army. Mistrust and vacillation demoralized the bureaucratic machine, and the commanding cadres. A blow either from the East or West at that period might have had fatal consequences."

Public recognition of Nikolai Bukharin in the Soviet Union is closely related to Gorbachev's reexamination of this period of history when bureaucratic policy took the first workers' state to the edge of an abyss. Bukharin opposed collectivization, although not from a Leninist point of view.

Gorbachev extends no comparable recognition to Trotsky. The point is not one's preferred attachment to this or that historical figure, but rather, politics, and what such lack of recognition indicates about the policy of the Soviet Union. Restoring Trotsky to Soviet history could only be accompanied by recognition of another departure from Leninist policy, specifically, from internationalism.

Doug Hord
Morgantown, West Virginia

Gays in the military

At the present time I am in the process of completing a project concerning discrimination against gays in the military.

As a U.S. Army Reserve captain awaiting my own ouster from the system because of sexual orientation, I know that the issue of eliminating good personnel because of gayness is totally archaic in this day and age. My project hopes to expose and describe this emotional and mental trauma.

I am seeking individuals for a manuscript concerning gay experiences while in the military and need veterans from pre-World War II to present — all branches, all ranks — who have been involved in "homosexual purges," been otherwise investigated for sexual orientation, or have received a less than honorable discharge. Present active members or those who completed service under honorable conditions may also respond. Strict confidentiality will be maintained. If interested, write to: Manuscript Subject, P.O. Box 2370, Portland, Ore. 97208.

Mary Ann Humphrey
Portland, Oregon

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



Toles

Caribbean anti-imperialist groups meet

Oppose scheme to 'unify' region under Washington's thumb

BY STEVE CLARK

A conference of 10 anti-imperialist political organizations in the Caribbean has declared "its commitment to Caribbean unification and confidence in the ability of the Caribbean peoples to determine the future of the region."

The conference, held November 20-22 in Kingstown, St. Vincent, was a gathering of member organizations from English-speaking countries in the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. Participating organizations included the Dominica Labour Party; February 18 Movement of Trinidad and Tobago; Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada; Movement for National Unity of St. Vincent; People's Progressive Party of Guyana; United People's Movement of St. Vincent; Workers Party of Jamaica; and Working People's Alliance of Guyana.

Participants also came from the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which are members of the Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

The meeting was called to discuss the proposal for a unified Eastern Caribbean state initiated by several leaders of pro-imperialist governments and parties in the region.

Public meeting opens event

The St. Vincent gathering opened November 20 with a public meeting, attended by more than 100 people. Rafael (Fafa) Taveras, president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, was the first speaker. Taveras is a leader of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.

Don Rojas, who represents Grenada's Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement on the Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations, gave the keynote speech. Other delegates presented greetings.

The delegates' discussion of Caribbean unity opened November 21 with presentations from James Millette of the February 18 Movement of Trinidad and Tobago; Oscar Allen of the United People's Movement of St. Vincent; and Michael Douglas, a leader of the Dominica Labour Party.

The recent debate on Caribbean political unification was sparked last summer by proposals at the annual conference of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), which embraces seven smaller English-speaking islands: Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. This discussion spread rapidly to the four larger English-speaking Caribbean nations of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, which together with the OECS countries make up the Caribbean Community (Caricom).

Opponents of the OECS leaders' scheme point out that far from strengthening Caribbean unity and sovereignty, it would actually reinforce domination of the region by U.S., British, and Canadian imperialism.

Local Caribbean ruling families and politicians hope to get a few more crumbs from imperialist superprofits, and share Washington's interest in a regional army strong enough to help crush strikes, protests, and rebellions by working people.

Unification for who?

The declaration coming out of the St. Vincent meeting stresses that the participating organizations are "dedicated to the unity of the peoples" not only of the English-speaking Caribbean, but also "of the wider Caribbean as a whole."

The historical origins of this goal, it states, "can be traced . . . to progressive regionalists, Caribbean nationalists, and anti-imperialists such as [T.A.] Marryshow, [Marcus] Garvey, [Uriah] Butler,



[José] Martí, [Walter] Rodney, and [Maurice] Bishop."

"Like these genuine representatives of the Caribbean masses," the declaration continues, "the conference recognized that the real impulse for unity has always come from the Caribbean peoples" and their efforts to transcend "all the barriers imposed by colonialism."

The OECS leaders' proposal, to the contrary, "is unworthy of the support of the people of the Eastern Caribbean," says the declaration. "This initiative is singularly innocent of anything to do with the people of the OECS."

This "vague and inadequate" proposal rejects involvement by the Caribbean people, the declaration states. It "must now be followed by the publication of an official document, dealing in specifics, for

consideration by the people before any referendum or other device is initiated for soliciting popular support."

To facilitate such mass involvement, the conference called for "broad-based, non-governmental committees in each country of the OECS . . . to discuss, debate, define, and struggle for a People's Agenda."

People's Agenda

Caribbean political unity, the declaration states, "will be useless if it cannot confront misery and despair, hopelessness, alienation, oppression, and exploitation" in the Caribbean. Instead, such unity must "promote social and economic justice, guarantee human rights, democracy, cultural and intellectual sovereignty, and a better quality of life for the Caribbean people."

Grenadian fighters plan convention

BY STEVE CLARK

HAVANA, Cuba — "We are planning the biggest political event in the life of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement [MBPM] since its founding in 1984," said Terry Marryshow in an interview here in early November.

MBPM leader Marryshow was referring to the party's first convention, tentatively scheduled for mid-March 1988, nine years after the triumph of the Grenada revolution. The convention was called by a November 1 meeting of the MBPM's National Representative Council.

Since the destruction of the revolution and U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983, Marryshow said, democratic and trade union rights have been under constant attack, and economic and social conditions of the population have greatly deteriorated.

The U.S.-installed New National Party (NNP) regime of Herbert Blaize has dismantled the economic development projects and the educational and health-care programs of the revolutionary government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, he said.

According to Marryshow, the current regime is planning some 2,000 layoffs of civil servants this year. Overall unemployment, he said, has shot back up to 40 percent from its level of under 15 percent during the last year of the revolution.

Police brutality has become commonplace, and the NNP regime is planning to restore a standing army, Marryshow said. In addition, prostitution and drug

trafficking have returned to Grenada on a large scale. Grenada's sovereignty and foreign policy, according to Marryshow, have given way once more "to domination by Washington, London, and Toronto."

No alternative to this political course, Marryshow said, is offered by the ruling NNP or by the two parliamentary opposition parties, the New Democratic Council of George Brizan and Francis Alexis and the Grenada United Labour Party of former dictator Eric Gairy.

"All three are right-wing, pro-imperialist, anti-progressive parties," according to Marryshow. "They represent the interests of a few big businessmen, not the majority of Grenada's working people. Only the MBPM points to an alternative to put Grenada back onto a firm revolutionary and anti-imperialist path."

The MBPM advocates an end to U.S. domination and the establishment of a government that will restore the policies and programs carried out by the Grenadian people under the leadership of Maurice Bishop.

These are among the questions that Marryshow said would be discussed at the March 1988 MBPM convention. It will be a "broad, open, and democratic forum," he said, and will give MBPM members the opportunity to elect the leadership committees and bodies of the party.

According to Marryshow, the gathering will register the gains of the reorganization and membership drive that the MBPM and

The St. Vincent declaration insists "that the People's Agenda must contain demands for the implementation of economic policies that emphasize full employment, self-reliance, and developmental strategies based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs."

The declaration raises "the demand for the demilitarization of the region, for the recognition of the Caribbean as a zone of peace and independence." It calls for "respect for human rights and the principle of ideological pluralism, for the deepening of democracy, both representative and participatory, and for the defense of our region's sovereignty and independence."

The foreign policy of a Caribbean state must stand "on the principles of nonalignment, self-determination, and non-interference in the affairs of sovereign nations."

The St. Vincent conference also adopted resolutions demanding independence for Puerto Rico; supporting the Central America peace accords; and expressing solidarity with the Haitian people.

The November 20-22 gathering in St. Vincent received newspaper and radio coverage throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. It was the first subregional gathering sponsored by the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America since its founding in Havana, Cuba, in June 1984.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations today encompasses some 37 political parties and movements, of diverse political outlooks, from 22-countries in the English-, French-, Spanish-, Dutch-, and Creole-speaking Caribbean and Central America.

The success of the St. Vincent meeting gives "a new impetus to the anti-imperialist movement in the English-speaking Caribbean," according to conference participant Don Rojas.

"And it gives a new importance to the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America in this region," Rojas said.

Maurice Bishop Youth Organization launched in the second half of 1987.

As a result of this work, Marryshow said, the MBPM held its most successful public event ever this October 19 to mark the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution and the anniversary of the assassination of Maurice Bishop four years ago.

According to Marryshow, some 3,000 people attended the event in the town of Victoria in St. Mark's Parish. The gathering featured cultural and sporting events, as well as speeches by MBPM and MBYO leaders Kendrick Radix, Einstein Louison, and Marryshow.

The MBPM event, Marryshow said, was much larger than the October activities sponsored by the NNP and New Democratic Council this year.

Don Rojas, the MBPM's Havana representative, interviewed here along with Marryshow, pointed out that a March 1988 gathering has also been called by supporters of former deputy prime minister Bernard Coard, who organized the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government and assassination of Bishop and other popular leaders in October 1983. Rojas was Bishop's press secretary at the time.

The gathering called by Coard's supporters, Rojas pointed out, is scheduled for London, not Grenada. "Unlike the MBPM, Coard's supporters have not dared to organize a single public event inside Gre-

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